

LETTERS
OF
PAPINIAN.

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*(Charles Inglis)
1800 11/10/5*

L E T T E R S
O F
P A P I N I A N:

IN WHICH

The Conduct, present State, and Prospects

C. OF THE *C*

AMERICAN CONGRESS

ARE EXAMINED.

While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in pursuing Rebels, half discomfited through the consciousness of their guilt, I shall labour to improve those victories to the good of my fellow-subjects; by carrying on our successes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cause of their King, their Country, and their Religion.

ADDISON.

NEW YORK Printed:

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St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLXXIX.

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The Conduct, Intent, and Proposals

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While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in fighting Rebels, half-disciplined through the consciousness of their guilt, I shall labour to improve those victories to the good of my fellow-subjects; by conveying on our success over the minds of men, and by recommending them to the capital of their King, their Country, and their Religion.

ADDISON.

NEW YORK: Printed by

J. L. DODGE, at the Sign of the Anchor, No. 21, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

1776.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE state of America, since the present Rebellion, has been very little known in this country. Pains have been taken to conceal it from Government, and to misrepresent it to the Nation. Examinations have been taken in the House of Commons, at the instance of men whose interest and reputations depended on the success of those misrepresentations. The news-papers have held up the Congress to view as a virtuous set of men, struggling in the cause of Liberty. The people at large have been represented as *unanimously disaffected*; and the most perfect loyalty, which neither fines, imprisonment, or even the terrors of death itself could shake, has, to serve the shameful and dishonest purposes of Party, been charged with the black crime of Rebellion. What a melancholy proof does all this afford of the degeneracy of men!

However, these misrepresentations have been, in a good degree, removed by contra-examinations before the House of Commons,

and sundry publications shewing the true state of the revolted Colonies. The opinions of mankind respecting the *disinterested* views of the *Congress*, the *disloyalty* of the *people in general*, and the *practicability* of reducing the Rebellion in that country, are greatly changed. But as too much light cannot be thrown on matters of so much importance, the following Letters are published. They were wrote and published in America, where the truth or falsehood of every fact asserted is known; and yet they remain unrefuted by the Congress and their adherents. Whoever wishes to have further information respecting the true state of America, of the extreme tyranny of the Congress, or of the attachment of by far the greater part of the people to this country, will receive much satisfaction in the perusal of these Letters.

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To the People of North America

L E T T E R S
O F
P A P I N I A N.

L E T T E R I.

To the Printer of the New-York Mercury.

S I R,

WHILST preparing to pay my *respects* to Mr. Jay, according to promise, a friend put the following Address into my hands. It would be injustice to the Public to deprive them of it; I therefore send it to be inserted in your next Paper, and earnestly recommend it to the perusal of my fellow-subjects. If the affectionate zeal, truth and sincerity which breathe in this *address*—if the alarming, though just picture of our deluded brethren's situation, here delineated, cannot awaken them to a sense of their danger; I must conclude that they are under a judicial blindness. Their case would resemble that of some Northern Barbarians, in the days of Tacitus, of whom he says, in his nervous, sententious language—*non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant**, i. e. “They degenerate not only “from liberty, but even from slavery”—submitting to a state in which disgrace and infamy were superadded to servitude.

PAPINIAN.

* De Morib. German. cap. xlv.

To the People of North-America.

BRETHREN and COUNTRYMEN,

THE anxiety I feel for your welfare, and my apprehensions of the ruin which is now hanging over you, induce me to address you, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements that lie in the way to prevent it.

Your present rulers are labouring to keep you in the dark. They not only conceal from you the most important transactions relative to America, in which they are concerned themselves; but they do all in their power to hinder you from receiving information from any other quarter, either respecting your own situation or the true state of things in Europe. If a person goes out of the British lines, a guard is set over him, and you are not permitted to converse with him. If a newspaper or pamphlet from hence, happens to find its way among you, you are obliged to read it privately and then hide it. Every man has a tyrant at his door, watching over him with the most suspicious jealousy. You are denied even the freedom of speech, and cannot communicate your sentiments with safety; much less are you suffered to act as your judgment and inclinations would lead you. The Inquisitors of Spain, Portugal and Rome are not more diligent to keep their deluded vassals in profound ignorance; or to prevent Gospel truth from reaching them, which would dispel the thick cloud of superstition and error that covers them; than your Committee and Congress men, your rulers in general are, to keep you in ignorance of your real state, and prevent your eyes from being opened to see your present danger.

Besides

Besides all this, I must tell you that some of yourselves are willing to be imposed on, and to believe the specious lies that are invented to deceive you. You will account him your enemy that would tell you the truth; you will pronounce him *a wicked Tory*, and that he *is inimical to his country*! But is this right, my brethren? Should you not listen to truth? Do you not sin against the God of truth and your own souls, when you wilfully turn a deaf ear to it? Is it not right that you should know the true state of your affairs—what you have to depend on, and what will be the real consequences of the measures that are now pursuing?

All men have their prejudices; and whoever is sensible of his own, will be ready to make due allowance for those of others. Notwithstanding the prejudices which have influenced you, yet I know you so well, that I can safely rely on your candour and good sense for an answer to the above questions. I am sure the language of your hearts is, that you *should* know those particulars—that you *should* listen to truth.

You heartily lament with me the error, bondage and slavery which have, and do now overspread so great a part of the earth. However tyrants may have been blamed for this, yet I may affirm, that all the tyrants in the universe could not accomplish it, had not the people themselves been devoted to them; had they not been averse to the means of information, attentive to plausible delusions, and submissive to the yoke of slavery. To these causes we should principally refer the Heathen, Mahometan and Popish superstition which hath formerly, and does now prevail in the world; as well as the despotism under which so many of our fellow-creatures have groaned. Nor is it possible for

you, my countrymen, to avoid the yoke of despotism now, and probably the shackles of Popish superstition, and counting beads, unless you open your eyes, think and act for yourselves as becomes free men.

I do not desire you to take my word, or believe my assertions on these points, further than they are supported by plain facts and clear reasoning. But then I expect that you will assent to such facts and reasoning when laid before you ; that you will act as unbiassed reason and your interest direct in consequence of them ; that you will not be the dupes of prejudice, the tools of crafty, designing men, who have already deceived you often ; and whose interest and consequence entirely depend on your being still under a deception.

If it should be any satisfaction to you, I can declare with the sincerity of a martyr, that my aim in addressing you now, is to promote your welfare by warning you of your danger, and the ruin that is hastening towards you. I have no interests that clash with, or that are separate from, yours. Having from my infancy imbibed generous principles of freedom, I cordially detest tyranny in every shape, and from whatever quarter it may come. In my choice, I would fly to the uttermost parts of the earth to find a spot where I could enjoy rational liberty, which I esteem the greatest blessing ; rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression of any man, or body of men.

Yet righteous as my intentions are, and undeniably aiming at your benefit, I would not venture to address you now, were I not certain that your own feelings will, in some degree, convince you of your dangerous situation, and powerfully second what I have to say. Tyranny may stifle the voice of complaint, or shackle the body—Deception
may,

may, for a while, by its bewitching influence, lead us in the path of error and destruction; but neither of them can suppress our feelings under injuries and oppression. To your feelings therefore, to your reason, and to that knowledge you have acquired, even excluded as you are from the proper means of information, be the appeal for what I shall offer.

I said, that *you have been often deceived*; and pray reflect, is not this the case? Recollect the first rise of this unhappy contest with the Parent State, when you were actually the most free and happy people upon earth. Your Congress then solemnly appealed to heaven and to you, that they were loyal and affectionate subjects of George III.—that they disclaimed every idea of independency—that none but enemies could suggest they aimed at it—that their interest and happiness depended on a constitutional union with Great Britain—and that their sole object was to obtain a redress of those grievances which they either apprehended, or pretended to suffer.

In the simplicity of your hearts, you believed those declarations. But were you not deceived? Are you not convinced that your leaders imposed on you? That revolt and rebellion were in their hearts, whilst their declarations were filled with professions of loyalty to the King, and attachment to the Parent State? With such artifice and subtilty did they conduct matters, that it was next to impossible for the bulk of the people to penetrate into their real designs. To hint that the Congress had any thoughts of independency, would endanger a man's life. In the spring of 1776, a gentleman came from Philadelphia to this city, and reported that the Congress were deliberating on that point. The Committee of Safety took fire at the *calumny*,
ordered

ordered a search to be made for the gentleman, who, to save himself from the fury of the mob, was obliged to take sanctuary on board of one of the King's ships: yet the declaration of independency was published the July following! But to proceed:

The Congress declared that a redress of grievances was the only object they had in view; and when that was obtained, all discord would cease. You believed this also; yet when that redress was offered by the King's Commissioners—when terms more liberal than the most sanguine republican could have hoped for, were held out, they were rejected by Congress with the utmost contempt and disdain. The truth is, they had so entangled themselves with France, had MORTGAGED these Colonies so deeply to that insidious power, and the members of the Congress carried on so gainful a traffic, that they did not *chuse*, and *would not* break off the connection.

By the loud declamations of your Congress-Patriots against oppression and taxes, you were taught to believe that they were the most disinterested of men, and aimed only at the public good; that all oppression and taxes would soon be at an end, and a free trade carried on with the whole world. All this you swallowed, and believed it to be as true as the Gospel. Yet these disinterested patriots are now trading on *your* credit, and raising immense fortunes at *your* expence. I appeal to the publications of Messrs. *Deane*, *Paine*, *Morris*, and others in Philadelphia, for the truth of this: and were that whole mass of corruption fully uncovered, it would astonish the world. You find those pretended enemies of oppression, the most unrelenting oppressors, and their little finger heavier than the King's loins.

Instead

Instead of an exemption from taxes, you are fleeced more than any other people this day on the face of the earth. In some provinces, a person who formerly—in the *woeful* days of *Royal oppression*—paid annually 10 l. in taxes, now in the time of Congressional *liberty and exemption from taxes*, pays annually 1200 l. in taxes, and so on in proportion! Nor is there any prospect of this ending. Were every improved farm, and all the vacant lands in the *Thirteen United States*, set up at public auction, were they sold at the price which lands sold at in the year 1772, yet the sum total would not amount to the quantity of paper dollars, and other bills of credit which are now circulating among you: And this quantity of paper money, joined to the millions due to France, and the necessary expence of your governments, must entail an insupportable load of taxes on America, for ages to come, and overwhelm it with ruin! It is needless to tell you that you have not a free trade. Scarcely any of your skulking sloops peep out of an inlet, or a French interloper appears on our coasts, but they are instantly seized by a British cruizer, or a *Tory* privateer.

If it should be replied, “that the above advantages could only be expected when independency was established, and the war at an end:” I answer—that if independency was established, and the war ended to-morrow, yet the debt due to France must be paid, unless the Congress mean to defraud the French, as they defrauded the British merchants to whom the Americans owed large sums when the rebellion began. I answer again, that the above mass of paper money and bills, is now in actual circulation, and must either be sunk by taxes, or sink of itself; besides the expence of supporting the new governments, which could not
be

be less than *three millions sterling* annually, and must be raised by taxes; for the Congress have acted just like a spendthrift heir who came too early to his estate, and madly involved himself in such a debt, that the income of his estate cannot pay the interest, nor the intrinsic value discharge the principal. I answer further—that independency is now a mere dream, a phantom. The Congress have so entwined themselves with France, that were even the British power set aside, they could not break loose from the former. If not dependent on Britain, the Colonies must be dependent on France; and were the Congress now to declare Louis XVI. sovereign and liege Lord of North-America, it would not shock or surprise me so much as their *Resolve* of Jan. 14, 1779—
 “ That as these United States may not of right, so
 “ they will not conclude either truce or peace with
 “ the common enemy, without the formal consent
 “ of their ally first obtained.”

I appeal to any man of plain understanding, whether a declaration of the Congress that the *French King* was *King of North-America*, would be near so inconsistent with this *Resolve*, or so great a stride from it, as this *Resolve* is inconsistent with, and distant from, the repeated declarations of the Congress, long after this contest began. The powers of Britain and France now stand in the way of your independency; if the Congress can remove those powers, they may accomplish the point; but I apprehend they will meet with equal difficulty in doing this, as the man did in finding a place to fix his machines on to heave the earth from its place. But I return to the point from which I digressed to answer this objection.

To induce you to take up arms, and join in rebellion against your King, you were told at first,
 that

that the rebellion would soon be over. Some of you readily believed this—you thought it would only be a short *frolick*—that it was very clever to wear a cockade and regimentals—*when you could get them*,—and strut after a drum and fife. But here also you were deceived. After all your struggles, and the loss of at least 60,000 lives on your side, by the sword, or sickness, the contest is not yet ended.

You were made to believe at the beginning of each campaign, that it would be the last. You were told that New-York would certainly be evacuated last fall—last Christmas—or this spring at the very furthest; yet you may be assured there is no more intention of evacuating New-York, than there is to evacuate London.

You have been assured a thousand times that Britain was helpless and exhausted—destitute of men and money—unable to carry on the war longer, and must give up the contest. But you have been as egregiously deceived in this as any of the former particulars, and perhaps it is the most fatal deception of any. Britain cannot now give up the contest—the Congress have put it out of her power. She must exert herself to prevent the Colonies from becoming an accession to the power of France, were there no other reason. She never abounded more in resources for carrying on a war than at this instant—in wealth, commerce and credit. No less than 77,000 seamen were in the King's service last November; that number has been much increased since, and her land forces are in proportion. As she is thus able, so also is she fully *determined* to prosecute this war with vigour. When roused by injuries or insults, she has frequently made her enemies tremble in every quarter of the Globe; nor have I the least doubt but she

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she will, with the blessing of heaven, make her domestic and foreign enemies sorely rue their ungrateful, perfidious conduct in the present contest.

It would be impossible to enumerate every instance in which you have been thus deceived. Whenever any advance was to be made towards Rebellion—when any arbitrary, oppressive measure, which might raise an alarm, was to be carried—when an army was to be raised, or any other step taken to serve the purposes of the Congress, a monstrous lie was invented and circulated, and you generally were the dupes of those artifices, and swallowed the bait. Thus have you been gradually led on to your present deplorable situation, and brought to the very brink of ruin.

This, as far as it goes, is a faithful and just representation of your state; for much remains yet to be mentioned. Were I even your enemy, I could not forbear commiserating it; but as your friend, I sincerely lament it. O what a mass of happiness—what blessings and privileges have you wantonly and foolishly flung away! How grating must your reflections be, whilst comparing your present with your former state! *Esau* sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage; but you have sold the birth-right of British subjects.—You have exchanged freedom, security and wealth, for oppression, misrule and beggary, and for vassalage to France! Your farms, your estates and property are actually MORTGAGED to France. You plow and sow, you labour and toil, you fight and bleed for France, and for those who have betrayed you to France—Your Congress! Your grain, your tobacco, your produce of every kind, your cattle and lumber, must go for vile paper dollars, which are no better than so many old rags! How long are you to remain in this disgraceful, wretched situation?

situation ? Where, my Countrymen, where is that good sense, that innate love of freedom for which you were once famed ? Are they totally extinguished ? Can you indeed submit to be the tools of French Papists—to be doomed to poverty and ruin by a Congress, which is a creature of your own making, whilst its members are **FATTENING ON YOUR SPOILS ?**

But methinks I see a flaming *patriot*, who shares in those spoils, or derives all his consequence from your misfortunes—methinks I see him knit his brow, and foaming with rage at what I say, declare to you most positively, *that I am a cursed Tory—that all I tell you is a parcel of lies—that I only mean to sow dissention among the Americans, and thereby serve the cause of Britain, which has now no other hope of success.*

Just like this *patriot*, with similar designs, and equally contrary to truth, did the first promoter of rebellion declare positively to *Eve*, “ Ye shall
“ not surely die ; for God doth know that in the
“ day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be
“ opened ; and ye shall be as Gods, knowing
“ good and evil.” I could easily point out a parallel between the arguments here used, and those which are usually urged by false *patriots* on such occasions as the present ; and also too near a resemblance between the consequences of hearkening to each.

Believe me, my Countrymen, that Britain stands not in need of my feeble aid ; and as for dissensions, they already abound among you, God wot, as much as the most determined enemy of the Congress could wish. The greatest part of those particulars I know to be true ; and have such evidence of the rest, as leaves me in no doubt about them. Nay, I appeal to yourselves for the
C 2 truth

truth of them. Consult your own experience, your feelings, your memory and reason; listen to them, if not to me. They will tell you much more than I have yet related. You ought to profit something by the knowledge you have of these matters, for you have paid very dearly for it. Whether it is more consistent with the character of rational beings, to attend the dictates of reason and that knowledge, and act as they and your interest require; or still to be the dupes of artful deceivers, and tread the destructive path of rebellion and slavery into which they have led you, I leave you freely to determine. I am your sincere friend,

CLARENDON,

LETTER II.

To JOHN JAY, Esq.

SIR,

ON carefully reviewing the conduct of your Congress, I find a remarkable conformity between it and the rules laid down by Machiavel in his well known treatise, intituled, THE PRINCE. As it may contribute to place the character of the Congress in a true light, I shall in this letter point out some of the instances in which that conformity is so evident, that it must strike the dullest observer.

However the world may be divided as to the *motives* which induced Machiavel to write that Treatise, yet all agree that it contains the most execrable doctrines. It teaches the various methods by which usurpers may arrive at power, and afterwards retain it. Deceit, treachery, assassination, poison, a disregard of oaths and all other obligations whatever, are among the several lessons here inculcated, and of which usurpers are to avail themselves.

Machiavel professedly holds up Cæsar Borgia, or, as he was commonly called, Duke Valentine, for a model which all usurpers should copy. “ I know no better pattern, says he, that can be proposed for the imitation of a new Prince *,” *i. e.* an usurper. After giving a detail of Borgia’s schemes and actions, Machiavel adds, “ Upon a review of the Duke’s actions, I see nothing worthy of reprehension in them; on the con-

* Machiavel’s Prince, Chap. vii.

“ trary, I have proposed them, and here propose
 “ them again, as a pattern for the imitation of all
 “ such as arrive at dominion by the arms and for-
 “ tune of others *.”

It will be proper to give some particulars of the man's character who is so earnestly recommended as a pattern to others. Cæsar Borgia was the natural son of Pope Alexander VI.; and a more ambitious, perfidious, or cruel monster perhaps never disgraced humanity. Ambition was the reigning passion of his mind; to gratify it, he stuck at nothing, however infamous. Borgia assassinated his own brother, and ordered his dead body to be thrown into the Tyber. He caused the Pope's Swiss guards to be assassinated, to revenge himself on that nation for a pretended affront. He deprived hundreds of their property by violence, to satiate his avarice; he deposed the Duke of Urbino, and took possession of his territories; he murdered several Lords of the Urfini family because they were obstacles to his greatness, after he had decoyed them to an interview by the warmest professions of friendship; he caused a Venetian Lady of quality, whom he had ravished, to be flung into the Tyber and drowned. In short, to use the King of Prussia's strong language, “ He
 “ was the most abominable monster that Hell ever
 “ vomited out upon the earth †.” Machiavel relates most of these particulars, and knew many more no less infamous, though he recommends Borgia as a pattern for imitation!

Be not startled, Sir, nor think I lay my charge too high in saying that your Congress have acted

* Prince, Chap. vii.

† See his Prussian Majesty's “ Examen du Prince de Machiavel,” Chap. vii.

on the principles laid down in a treatise which proposes this wretch for a pattern. Borgia himself might not see the foulness and turpitude of his actions in the same light that others saw them. Blinded by irregular passions, and heated by ambitious pursuits, a deceitful veil was thrown over his crimes, nor did he take time to reflect on them. This may also be the case of others.

I desire no one to regard or apply the present charge further than it is supported by plain facts. I do not aver that every member of the Congress sat down deliberately and read over Machiavel's PRINCE on purpose to practise his precepts. This is not my meaning, nor was it necessary. Usurpers in China, in Italy, and in America, actuated by the same spirit, and having the same object in view, might naturally fall on the same methods of attaining that object. I do not assert that poisoning, treachery and assassination have been practised here exactly as they were in Italy when Machiavel wrote. The present times would not well admit of, nor bear this. For as Montesquieu observes, "we begin to be cured of Machiavelism; moderation is become necessary—what would formerly have been called a master-stroke of politics, would now, independent of the horror it might occasion, be the greatest imprudence*." When Montesquieu wrote, he knew nothing of the American Congress, or their proceedings.

But other expedients may be found, equally subservient to the purposes of usurpation, without exciting so much horror—such as tarring and feathering, riding of men on rails by mobs and Committees, which mobs and Committees were the principal fabricators and supporters of the Con-

* Spirit of Laws, Book XXI. Chap. xvi.

gress in the beginning—such as chaining men together by dozens, and driving them, like herds of cattle, into distant provinces*, flinging them into loathsome gaols, confiscating their estates, shooting them in swamps and woods as suspected Tories, hanging them after a mock trial; and all this because they would not abjure their rightful Sovereign, and bear arms against him. You must be conscious that these methods were constantly practised by your Congress and their partizans, that by these you gradually rose to your present usurped power; and although they differed somewhat from the Italian mode of poisoning and assassination, yet they were done in the true spirit of Machiavelism, and served your designs much better.

What I assert is this—That there is a remarkable conformity between the conduct of the Congress and the rules laid down in Machiavel's PRINCE. Whether that conformity proceeded from accident or design, is foreign to the question,

* In the year 1776, it was computed that two thousand inhabitants were banished from the province of New-York into New-England. Among these were several members of his Majesty's Council, some of the Judges, the Members of the Assembly, and Magistrates, the Mayors of New-York and Albany. Of the lower classes it was usual to chain 10, 15, or 20 together, and drive them, thus chained, some hundreds of miles. By confinement and hardships they contracted fluxes and other disorders; and when any one was obliged to go and ease nature, the whole group must move with him. The gaols were also filled with loyalists; and many hundreds lost their lives by these severities. This was the state of things in the province of New-York; the case was similar in other provinces. When the Congress had in some degree established their power, and new-modelled the government of each province, the more expeditious mode of trial by laws of their own framing, confiscation, hanging, &c. took place.

and

and of very little moment. Now let facts decide whether this assertion be true or otherwise.

By *Prince*, Machiavel in his *Treatise* means an usurper—a character which applies exactly to you: The power that is acquired by the instrumentality of mobs, by deceit, violence, and the prostration of law and order, must be usurped. Agreeably to this character, and the spirit of his *Treatise*, Machiavel teaches his usurper to spurn every obligation, and throw aside all regard to the rights, liberties and lives of others, whenever it would facilitate his way to power*.

How well your Congress have practised those lessons, millions can testify. You broke through and spurned the most sacred obligations that subjects can be under to a Sovereign—or fellow-subjects to fellow-subjects. You violated your own oaths, and compelled others to violate theirs. Although, sensible that carnage, desolation and ruin must be the inevitable consequences of your proceedings, yet still you persisted in brandishing the sword of rebellion. When a redress of every grievance, real or pretended, was generously offered on the part of Britain—when every thing, except absolute independence, was allowed—when even the substance of that was granted, and nothing but the bare name was withheld: Yet your Congress turned a deaf ear to all those proposals, and contemptuously rejected the offers of peace. Nay, to rebellion you added the most outrageous insults; thereby provoking Britain to inflict severe punishments on her rebellious children whom she would willingly have spared. Whilst these particulars evince your conformity to Machiavel's instructions; they also shew that the Congress—and

* *Prince*, *passim*.

the Congress *only*—are chargeable, before God and the world, with all the calamities that are suffered by America.

Machiavel says—“ Experience shews that those
“ Princes of our own times, who have made least
“ account of their word and honour, have done
“ the greatest things ; by the dint of craft and
“ circumvention they have for the most part got
“ the better of others who proceeded with sincerity and regard to their engagements—A wise
“ Prince therefore ought not to regard his word,
“ when keeping it will be to his prejudice *.”—

This *precious* doctrine hath been uniformly practised by your Congress. Your duplicity is become proverbial. The Treaty at the *Cedars*, and Convention of *Saratoga*, furnish us with illustrious specimens of your regard to public faith and honour ; just as the imprisonment of Lieut. *Hele* manifests your veneration for the law of nations ; to pass by other instances.—But to proceed—

“ A Prince,” continues Machiavel, “ will never want colourable pretences to varnish the
“ breach of his faith—however, it is highly necessary to disguise this craft, and to be a thorough
“ master of simulation and dissimulation. For
“ some men are so simple, and others so eager to
“ get out of present difficulties, that whoever
“ knows how to act his part well, will always find
“ dupes to his hopocrisy.” As a recent example, Machiavel mentions Pope Alexander VI.—“ whose
“ life was one continued imposition on mankind :
“ He neither did nor thought any thing but how
“ to deceive others : No man ever made stronger
“ protestations of sincerity, or took more solemn
“ oaths to confirm them ; no man ever shewed

* Prince, chap. 18.

“ less regard to those engagements: Yet Alexander was so well acquainted with the world, that he always found fresh people to work upon *.”—

That the Congress have found pretences for their rebellion, and that they also found dupes to those pretences, is certain. They wrote addresses to the King, the Parliament, the inhabitants of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies. In these they made the most solemn professions of loyalty to their Sovereign, though they undoubtedly meant to renounce and abjure him—of attachment and love to their European brethren, though they intended to separate from them; and were even then taking measures to defraud and ruin them. They complained bitterly of grievances in this country, which were not felt—of taxes, which were not levied—of savages employed to scalp them, although the savages were actually kept back by Government from the work of death—of tyrannical oppression and loss of freedom, when we were running wild with licentiousness. These pretences, however false, were so colourable, so artfully managed, that they varnished over the real designs and perfidy of the Congress. Republicans indeed, from principle, crowded to your standard here—they commenced your zealous advocates in Europe. But besides these, you gained, for a time, many to your cause, who had been among your warmest opposers, had they known your intentions. These were dupes of your hypocrisy; but the charm has been long since dissolved. The discerning, the loyal and honest soon saw through the flimsy disguise, and instantly abandoned men who had abandoned truth and sincerity. By throwing

• Prince, chap. 18.

yourself into the arms of France at last, and delivering this country, as far as you were capable, to the vassalage of that insidious power, you have fully manifested to the world your disregard of the liberties, welfare and happiness of America.

Machiavel, after saying that a usurper “should have the appearance of good qualities, but to put them in practice would be to his prejudice,” instructs his usurper how to fortify himself with proper caution.—“He must be constantly on his guard,” says Machiavel, “that nothing may ever drop from his mouth but what seems to flow from a heart full of goodness, mercy, truth, humanity, and religion; but particularly of the last; for mankind in general form their judgment rather from appearances than realities: All men have eyes, but not many have the gift of penetration *.”

Sensible of the utility of this rule, you availed yourselves of it. You professedly undertook to vindicate the liberties of America, and rescue the Colonies from taxation and tyranny. You proclaimed fasts, and appointed days of public humiliation. These were popular things; and who *could* think otherwise than that they proceeded from hearts overflowing with goodness, humanity and religion? All indeed had eyes to see these matters; and although many formed their judgment from appearances, yet some had the gift of penetration, and considered all this as a solemn mockery of God and man.

They thought it highly farcical that men—many of whom believed as much of the Alcoran or Talmud as of the Bible—should be the authors of religious institutions on the principles of Christia-

nity. They judged it a mockery of the Supreme Being to desire his interposition in behalf of measures which were expressly forbidden in his word, and inconsistent with the spirit of his religion; or to boast of his patronage, as was your case on any little success you met with, when the disciples of Mahomet, or of any other impostor, equally successful, might, according to this rule, lay a much better claim to the patronage of Heaven.

It was also a mockery of men. The security of their rights and liberties was the ostensible object held up; yet measures were pursued which must necessarily subvert both, as hath actually happened. Liberty is fled from that part of America which owns your sway. There is more liberty in Turkey than in the dominions of the Congress. Can liberty exist, where every man who differs in sentiment from you, is not only precluded from the common rights of citizens, but is also liable to imprisonment, confiscation, and death? And as for taxes, the subjects of your *great and good Ally* are not near so heavily burthened in this way, as the Americans. That usurpers should gain power by deceit and violence, is no new thing—it has frequently happened: But that people, in quest of liberty, should tamely submit to such a yoke as this; or that, in such circumstances, they can be persuaded their rights and liberties are preserved and secure, is equally astonishing and new in the history of mankind.

In case a war should be protracted, and the usurper's subjects grew tired of it, Machiavel tells him how to act. “A prudent Prince,” says he, “sometimes artfully buoys up his subjects with hopes that their sufferings will soon be over; sometimes he strikes a terror into them by magnifying the cruelty and blood-thirstiness of the enemy;

“ enemy ; and he will take other proper methods
 “ to fix the wavering, and quiet such as are most
 “ clamorous *.”

To this rule you have been peculiarly attentive, and it has done you essential service ; without it, the rebellion had been long since ended. At the beginning of every campaign, you gave out that it would be the last—that all fighting, and the sufferings of America, would soon be over. How often has the time been fixed when you were to take possession of New-York ? I question whether there has been a month for more than two years past, that was not mentioned by you or your partizans, for the accomplishment of that joyful event. The simple multitude always swallowed the bait, and their spirits were elated. Now that every hope of this sort is vanished, other fictions are propagated. I am told the prevailing delusion at present, and what your partizans sedulously promote, is—that Great Britain has offered independency to your Congress ; and nothing but the adjustment of some articles relative to Canada, the Fisheries, &c. is wanting to settle the accommodation. Incredible as it may appear, yet I am assured that even this absurd falsehood is swallowed with avidity ! Such men would believe transubstantiation, or deny that sunshine afforded light, if either of them happened to gratify their prejudices, or serve their interests.

You made Europe and America ring with mournful accounts of British cruelties ; and yet, in truth, most of them were purely fictitious ; others were exaggerated ; and the rest were such as you yourselves made necessary, or that are unavoidable in time of war. You publicly invited the Ameri-

cans to transmit to you whatever reports they could glean up of the *enemy's cruelties*; and you appointed a *Committee of Grievances* to arrange and record the virulent tales that were sent in by every seditious republican zealot, however groundless. These, and other like methods you practised, in the true spirit of Machiavelism.

It is by no means my intention to point out, in every instance, the conformity of your conduct with Machiavel's rules: To do this, it would be necessary to write a history of the Congress, and transcribe his Treatise. The specimens I have given are quite sufficient. I acknowledge, however, that in some things you have departed, and do still depart, from his rules; but you are excusable perhaps in this, since those rules are inconsistent with the general tenor of his Treatise, and contrary to his other positions.

Thus he asserts—"That Princes, *i. e.* usurpers, should take care not to make themselves hated or despised *;" which, on his plan and yours, is utterly impracticable. He thinks that of the two, "It is better for usurpers to be feared than beloved by their subjects †;" in which the sentiments of the Congress seem to coincide exactly with his: But then he advises—"that if they cannot gain the love, they should avoid at least the hatred of their subjects ‡." Cruelty and rapine are what generally occasion the greatest hatred and detestation against rulers. With respect to these, Machiavel says—"A new Prince must not regard the imputation of cruelty, provided it is necessary to keep his subjects in obedience §.—Yet whoever usurps the government of a state, should exercise what cruelties he thinks necessary

* Chap. xix.

† Chap. xvii.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

" at

“ at once, that he may not be obliged to renew
 “ them every day—Matters of this sort should be
 “ finished at a blow, that they may give the less
 “ distaste, and be the sooner forgotten *. But
 “ above all, he must take care not to touch the
 “ estates of his subjects; for a man will sooner
 “ forgive the death of a father or a brother, than
 “ the loss of his patrimony. Besides, as pretences
 “ for confiscations are never wanting, when a man
 “ once indulges himself in rapine of that kind, he
 “ seldom desists †.”

That Congress have not observed the caution here recommended on those two points, is evident from the number of confiscations and executions which we are daily advertised of in your own newspapers ‡, and of which we receive the most tragical accounts from all quarters, by Refugees and others. In this you have therefore *out-machiaveled* even Machiavel himself; and I submit it to your serious consideration whether such a conduct is prudent—at least till matters had taken a more decisive turn in your favour.

* Chap. viii.

† Chap. xvii.

‡ In a late Boston paper, the sentence of perpetual banishment was denounced on about 300 persons, among whom were many of the most respectable inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay. The personal estates of about 400 people, heads of families, have been sold and confiscated, and their real estates sequestered, in that province. In New-Jersey, the number of estates, real and personal, which have been sold and confiscated, amounts to about ONE THOUSAND; and in Pennsylvania, the confiscated estates are about 300—at this present time. Of these things we have almost daily accounts in the Rebel newspapers: according to the greater or less degree of violence and persecuting spirit in those who rule in each province, the Loyalists, in each, are treated with greater or less severity. I have not, as yet, taken a particular account of those who have been hanged for the CRIME of Loyalty—but they amount to several hundreds.

Any candid person may now judge whether my assertion is not true; viz. *that there is a remarkable conformity between the conduct of your Congress and the rules laid down by Machiavel in his Prince*, except in the articles last mentioned. Evidently, you have trod the path which he hath pointed out to usurpers, and pursued the methods for attaining power which he recommends, as nearly as your situation and circumstances would admit. I have faithfully transcribed his words, and fairly represented your conduct, without knowingly exaggerating any particular: Let both be compared, and then let truth and reason decide. Dominion was your object, and, like Machiavel's *Prince*, or like Agrippina, as characterised by the masterly pen of Tacitus, you held every thing cheap—you sacrificed every thing for the attainment of it *. In this light you are viewed by Loyalists; in this light you are, and will be viewed by the unprejudiced, virtuous part of mankind, who really know you.

It is much to be lamented that those execrable methods have too often proved successful; and that misery and ruin have been thereby entailed on millions. The artifices of inordinate ambition, seconded by the simplicity of the multitude, have been an over-match for the dictates of truth, the lessons of experience and history, the remonstrances of conscience, and duty to mankind.

Yet it should not be forgotten, that many more have failed, than have succeeded, in their attempts at usurped power. Even Cæsar Borgia, the most artful and perfidious of men, and the pattern held up by Machiavel, was utterly ruined at last. As the latter part of his history may be comprized in a few words, and be instructive to those who are

* *Decus, pudorem, cuncta regno viliora habere.* Annal. 12.

engaged in pursuits similar to his, I shall relate it.

Cæsar Borgia, like your Congress, entered into an alliance with the French King, LEWIS XII., to conquer the Milanese. Soon after, LEWIS made him Duke of Valentinois, and allowed him a pension. Their joint efforts to subjugate the innocent Milanese, succeeded for a time; but were finally defeated. Borgia, about this time, concerted a scheme with his father, Pope Alexander VI., to poison nine newly created Cardinals, that he might possess their effects; but the wine, which was prepared for the purpose, was, by mistake, brought to, and drank by themselves. A vigorous constitution, and the use of antidotes, restored Borgia; but Alexander died; and with him ended all Borgia's prosperity. Stripped immediately of his possessions and wealth, the fruits of his former crimes, he was banished into Spain, and there imprisoned. After two years confinement, he made his escape out of a window, and fled to Navarre; from whence he wrote to LEWIS, his *great and good Ally*, requesting assistance to restore his shattered fortunes. LEWIS, judging it would not be for his interest at that time to shew Borgia any countenance, not only refused to assist him, but also confiscated his Dukedom, and withdrew his pension. Despised and detested by all, he dragged on a miserable life of dependence, and was finally killed at the battle of Viana, where he served as a volunteer.

Such was the issue of Cæsar Borgia's ambition and perfidy. The punishment of his crimes overtook him even here; and Providence, for its own vindication, and in compassion to poor mortals, frequently exhibits such examples of justice as a warning to others.

That you, Sir, should be among a set of usurpers, who have risen to power by methods so nearly resembling those which raised Cæsar Borgia, is what I sincerely lament.—The causes of this Rebellion, the effects of your ambition, your present situation, and prospects, shall be the subject of my next Letter. At present, let me remind you, that the time *may* come, when you can repeat and apply to yourself, with little variation, *Wolsey's Soliloquy*; and when you will acknowledge the truth of the trite though most excellent aphorism—that *honesty is the best policy*.

PAPINIAN.

L E T T E R III.

To JOHN JAY, Esq.

S I R,

TH E present rebellion is one of the most singular occurrences in the history of mankind. When any remarkable event, like this, presents itself, the mind is naturally led to assign some cause from which it originated. In accounting for the American rebellion, many have fallen into very great errors, to my certain knowledge; their decisions were hasty and partial—not the result of careful, unbiaſſed investigation, but of indolence and prejudice.

Nations have been often plunged into civil war by the claims of pretenders to the regal authority, or by the imposition of enormous taxes, or other oppressions. But evidently these did not occasion the present rebellion; for no such claim, no such taxes or oppressions, existed in America.

There was not a more free or happy people on earth than the British Colonists. Without any taxes, but for the support of their poor—as free from restraint of any kind as could consist with a state of society, they were daily increasing in wealth and numbers—daily improving in the arts and embellishments of civil life; and they had the most flattering prospect of an unchecked progress in each of these. Yet they have wantonly renounced their rightful and most amiable Sovereign. They have not only waged war against that state which gave them existence, which always cherished them with parental tenderness, and raised them to
 their

their late flourishing condition; but, like paricides, they have combined with the inveterate enemies of that state to effect its ruin! plunging their country, at the same time, into the deepest calamities, for the avowed purpose of establishing an Independent Republic!

I am sensible that clamorous complaints were made of grievances and oppressions. But these undeniably were made to inflame people's minds, and stimulate them to sedition. Had the rebellion originated from real grievances, a redress of those grievances, repeatedly offered on the part of Government, had long since composed our troubles. Ample security against taxation was held out, an accommodation proffered; you contemptuously rejected both, and the rebellion went on with the same determined malice and obstinacy as before.

Ambition, and a lust of domination in some aspiring individuals, have most frequently produced intestine wars. But such men must always have proper materials to work upon—there must also be a particular concurrence of circumstances to favour their designs, or else they could not be successful. There were periods in the Athenian, Roman and British histories when *Pisistratus*, *Catiline*, or *Cromwell*, could not have carried their designs into execution. The venal and versatile disposition of the Athenians proved favourable to the first; the abandoned profligacy which reigned at Rome promoted the dark purposes of the second; and the prevalence of enthusiasm and republican principles in Britain, contributed to raise the last to despotism. Had not republican, democratic principles been as prevalent in America as they were then in Britain, your Congress had not attained their present usurped power.

Indeed,

Indeed, some of your European friends have asserted, that neither the Congress, nor their adherents, were tinctured with republicanism. But you very justly laughed at the folly of men who thus judged without knowledge, and decided without examination. You owed them no thanks for their officious zeal, since every part of your conduct gave the lie to their assertion; and on their scheme, the whole of your procedure would be ridiculously preposterous and contradictory. The principles which you published to the world, and on which you attempted to justify your rebellion, were perfectly democratic: Swarms of zealots started up in every province to vindicate those principles, and carry your measures into execution—measures directly calculated to establish a republic, and banish every vestige of monarchy—and measures to which you have since invariably adhered. After this, to deny that the American rebels were infected with republicanism, is at once a violation of truth, an insult on your understanding, and an injury to you.

What those causes were, whether local, political, or religious, which diffused a spirit of democracy through America—who were most infected with it, and consequently, your most zealous partizans—what the circumstances which prepared the way, or served to inflame the rebellion, are points which I shall not enlarge on. They are pretty well known, and the discussion of them is foreign to my design. Suffice it to say—that as matters were situated in America, some such convulsion as the present was unavoidable, sooner or later. All judicious men here expected it. Deep-rooted republicanism, democratic, levelling principles, ever unfriendly to monarchy, had spread
their

their baneful influence far and wide. Actuated by these, your adherents were disposed to revolt. The ambition, artifice, and duplicity of the Congress did the rest. From these combined causes sprung this most detestable rebellion; neither of which singly had been adequate to such an effect. I shall only add on this subject, that the particulars which some have falsely assigned as causes of the rebellion, were no more than circumstances * that hastened matters to a crisis. They only contributed to kindle the flame, and set fire to a train, which had been laid for many years.

We have seen in my last, the methods you pursued to subvert the best of civil constitutions, and establish your new tyrannical system. The effects of your ambition, and of those *Machiavelian* methods, come next to be considered.

Were the most abandoned usurper—not even excepting Cæsar Borgia, or any Member of the Congress—to foresee all the evils, all the direful consequences of his ambitious pursuits, I believe he would be petrified with horror, and stand aghast. There was certainly a time, when you, Sir, would have shuddered at the calamities which you are now instrumental in accumulating on this devoted country. But you seem to be steeled pretty well against such qualms at present, and have given them to the winds.

America now groans under all the complicated miseries which civil war, that severest scourge

* Such as the *three-penny* duty on tea, some acts of parliament which were complained of here, and have been mostly repealed, the opposition to government by the minority, on the part of Britain; and on this side of the Atlantic, the practice of smuggling, the hopes of defrauding creditors in Britain, and an apprehension in the Colonists that they would be taxed beyond their due proportion, &c.

which

which incensed Heaven can inflict on a guilty people, is capable of producing. Her provinces are filled with discord, animosity, and inhuman murders. Commerce is ruined, industry and useful arts are drooping, and nearly extinguished. Scenes of desolation—of the deepest distress, are every where to be seen. Thousands who lived in ease and affluence are reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty; or banished from their once happy and peaceful habitations. The orphan's and the widow's tears are mingled with those of afflicted parents, for their respective relatives, cut off by the destroying sword. Those who should be employed in offices of mutual tenderness, are stimulated by hostile rage against each other: Not only subject warring against fellow-subject; but parent and child, brother and brother stand forth to shed each other's blood.

These, Sir, are the fruits of your ambition! these the effects of your usurpation! Yet not content with these, you are resolved to spread the circle of human woe still wider; and maintain this unnatural contest, till the measure of this country's ruin is completed!

But that your *merits* and zeal for the *preservation* of America, may be more conspicuous, it will be proper to take a nearer view of what she hath suffered, what losses she hath sustained by your efforts to *save* her.

I shall pass over the malignant effects of your rebellion on the morals of the people—your horrid prostitution of oaths—compelling men to abjure their rightful Sovereign, and swear allegiance to you, contrary to the dictates of conscience, or else be deprived of all their property, or hanged. A more effectual method, perhaps, could not be devised to extinguish all sense of duty and obligation,
unhinge

suspicion of exaggeration, I shall fix it at 70 l. The loss of America, therefore, by these 70,000 men, is 4,900,000 l. sterling.

The rapid population of America was principally owing to the great number of emigrants who came from Europe. For twenty years immediately preceding 1775, the number of emigrants annually imported, taking one year with another, was not less than 4000; but emigrations have ceased since that year, that is, for four years past, since the rebellion commenced; consequently the emigrants for that space, amounting to 16,000, should be set down as so much loss to America. Reckoning these at the same valuation as those in the last article, the sum will be 1,120,000 l. sterling.

About a twelvemonth since, your emissions of paper money, by your own confession, amounted to *One Hundred and Twenty Millions of Dollars* *. If to this sum your expenditure since that time be added; if to these again be joined your bills of credit now in circulation, and the expence of the present campaign, which to you will probably be the most expensive of any; I may safely aver, that

* Since this letter was first printed, a very sensible writer, under the signature of *An American Loyalist*, asserts that "the emissions already issued by Congress, and now in circulation, amount to upwards of *Three Hundred Millions of Dollars*," and he "dares the Congress to disprove his assertion." This Gentleman seems to be well informed, and to have received authentic intelligence on this subject, which the Congress have laboured to keep secret. They have used every method in their power to conceal from the Americans the sums which they have emitted from time to time; and yet surely the people who are saddled with this enormous debt, should know something of the matter. But this procedure is similar to the rest of their conduct. I am inclined to believe the *American Loyalist's* assertion is true; and instead of 45,000,000 l. sterling, which I set down for this article, the sum should be 67,500,000 l. sterling.

the whole will amount at least to *Two Hundred Millions of Dollars*—It must greatly exceed that sum, for which you have mortgaged every estate in America. Reckoning a dollar at 4 s. 6 d. sterling, Two Hundred Millions of Dollars are equal to 45,000,000 l. sterling.

I am credibly informed that Congress have lately acknowledged their debt to France to be 4,000,000 l. sterling, for which also they have mortgaged every estate in America. This debt should therefore be set down as a loss to this country.

Since the commencement of this unnatural war, the houses that have been destroyed in the provinces of Massachusetts's Bay, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, cannot be fewer than 3500: In the Province of New-York only, 2000 have been destroyed. The houses, one with another, may be valued at 150 l. sterling. The whole then will amount to 520,000 l. sterling*.

The cattle and stock of all kinds, and provisions which have been destroyed in the course of the war, cannot be estimated at less than 200,000 l. sterling.

The injury done to farms, the fences and timber destroyed, will certainly amount to 150,000 l. sterling.

* Of those houses, about 1600 were burnt by the Rebels, viz. at New-York, Long-Island, and Norfolk in Virginia, besides some other places. The King's troops burnt no houses but those from which they were fired at by the Rebels, as was the case at Charles-Town, near Boston, and Kingston, on Hudson's River, both which might contain about 700 houses, and were the only towns burnt by the British army. In every province that was the seat of war, many houses were otherwise destroyed by both parties. The houses of several settlements along the frontiers have been burnt by the Indians; and the Rebels have retaliated on the Indians, by burning and destroying some of their settlements.

Great numbers of negroes have been killed, or run away, so as to be lost to their masters. According to the usual price of negroes, these may be valued at 50*l.* sterling each; and the number of those killed and run away, as above, may justly be reckoned 5000. For this article I may therefore set down 250,000*l.* sterling.

By a decree of your Congress, all exports from the *Thirteen* revolted Colonies were stopped, in September 1775; from which time till this present month, June 1779, three years and eight months have elapsed. The exports for that period should therefore be accounted as lost to America.

If it should be objected, “That when farmers
“ did not export their grain, produce, or other ar-
“ ticles of commerce, they could dispose of them
“ at home—that considerable exports were made
“ to France and the West-Indies, for which the
“ Americans received articles in return from those
“ places:—”

I answer—That by prohibiting exportation, the value of all produce and articles of commerce unavoidably sunk; they must either remain on hand, or be sold for Congress money, which is good for little or nothing. The exports to France and the West-Indies were very trifling; and the returns for them were chiefly ammunition, arms, cannon, and military stores, which are of no use to the farmers of America, and have been made the engines of their ruin. The few beneficial articles imported, such as clothing, sugars, &c. sold at such enormous prices—sometimes at *five hundred per cent.*—but oftener at *five thousand per cent.*—that it can scarcely be said, the Americans derived any advantage from them. That this is the sense of the people in general, is evident from this circumstance, that hardly any farmers raise more grain

or other produce than what is barely necessary for the consumption of their own families; and many of the most profitable articles of commerce are wholly laid aside.

Let me add, That the loss of shipping, of interest upon money, of the labour of those who were employed in your armies, and the decrease of the value of lands, without any advances towards settling the western wilderness, are articles of great importance, for which I have set down nothing. These, however, should be considered, and will more than balance your illicit trade with France and the West-Indies, and the sale of commercial articles at home. I may therefore aver, that the exports which could have been made during the above period, should be reckoned as so much loss to the Colonies. Indeed the feelings of the Colonists will not permit them to doubt it. Few things had a more extensive or pernicious effect on their property, than the prohibition to export.

In the year 1769, the exports from the Thirteen revolted Colonies amounted to 2,887,898 l. sterling*. Our exports were then increasing every year; but allowing them not to exceed that sum annually, they would amount, in three years and eight months, to 10,588,960 l. sterling.

Let us now cast up these several articles of loss :

70,000 men, at 70 l. sterling each,	£. 4,900,000
16,000 emigrants, - - -	1,120,000
Two hundred millions of dollars, at	
4s. 6d. - - -	45,000,000
Debt to France, - - -	4,000,000
Carry over	55,020,000

* See Campbell's Political Survey of G. Britain, Vol. ii. 1

Brought over	£. 55,020,000
3500 houses destroyed, at 150l.	
each, - - - - -	520,000
Cattle, stock of all kinds, and provisions destroyed, - - -	200,000
Injuries to farms, timber, &c. destroyed, - - - - -	150,000
5000 negroes, - - - - -	250,000
Exports for three years and eight months, - - - - -	10,588,960
Total Sterling,	£. 66,728,960 †.

This immense sum of SIXTY-SIX MILLIONS, SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHT THOUSAND, NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY POUNDS STERLING, has America lost by the present rebellion! By so much is she now poorer, than she would have been, if this rebellion had not happened. I am persuaded that many of those articles are under-rated, and am not conscious that any one of them is above the truth. I have allowed nothing for the pay and other expences of your armies, as these were defrayed with continental money, the credit of which is irretrievably sunk, and is so much lost to the continent. Its pernicious consequences will be sensibly felt by all the Colonists; but they will be peculiarly ruinous to helpless widows and orphans.

Now, for what has all this profuse waste of blood and treasure been made?—For sake of overturning the best of civil constitutions! For sake of a no-

† According to the *Loyal American's* Assertion, the sum of *One Hundred Millions* of dollars, equal to 22,500,000 l. sterl. should be added to the above sum, which will make it 89,003,960 l. sterl. and is, in my opinion, nearest the loss sustained by America in the course of this detestable rebellion.

minal independency, which, if established, would be more destructive to this continent, for ages to come, than even the present rebellion has been ! For sake of a ruinous alliance with France, the enemy of liberty and protestantism—of the honour of M. *Gerard's* company for a few months, and that the Congress might bear sway over these desolated provinces.

Whilst mentioning the effects of your rebellion, the disgraceful, wretched state of France should not be passed over. As she shared in your guilt, so hath she deservedly and deeply shared in your calamities. France, in the time of profound peace with Britain, amidst the most solemn professions of friendship, and without even the pretence of provocation, took part in your rebellion, and sent over a large fleet here to attack the power with which she was at peace ! After hovering a few months on this coast, without doing any thing but to proclaim the perfidy of his nation, *D'Estaing* retreated to the West-Indies. There, one of the French islands was taken under his eye ; and his own fleet blocked up at Martinico, without daring to venture out to sea. The French West-India trade is nearly ruined. The French fisheries at Newfoundland are annihilated. Pondicherry, the only place of any consequence which France possessed in the East-Indies, is wrested from her, and her East-India company and trade totally ruined. Her trade in Europe is in little better plight—her merchantships taken, her fleets blocked up, her merchants bankrupt, her government without credit at home or abroad, and covered with indelible infamy. A just reward this, of all her perfidy ! May all who act in the same insidious manner meet with a like fate !

I should

I should now examine what your present state and prospects are ; but as this would require too much time, I shall defer it to my next ; and shall only add, for the present, some reflections of the excellent Mr. ADDISON on the nature and guilt of rebellion.—You cannot suspect him of partiality to *Tories*, or of being disaffected to the Congress. You may, therefore, safely attend to his sentiments, and allow them their just weight—they are very applicable to the present subject.

“ That rebellion is one of the most heinous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, says this admired writer, may appear from several considerations. First, as it destroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil society. Government was instituted for maintaining the peace, safety, and happiness of a people. These great ends are brought about by a general conformity and submission to that frame of laws which is established in every community, for the protection of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty. As on the one side, men are secured in the quiet possession of their lives, properties, and every thing they have a right to ; so on the other side, those who offer them any injury in these particulars, are subject to penalties proportioned to their offences. Government, therefore, mitigates the inequality of power among particular persons, and makes an innocent man, though of the lowest rank, a match for the mightiest of his fellow-subjects ; since he has the force of the whole community on his side, which is able to controul the insolence or injustice of any oppressor.—Now rebellion disappoints all these benefits of government, by raising a power in opposition to that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare.

fare. So that rebellion is as great an evil to society, as government itself is a blessing.

“ In the next place, rebellion is a violation of all those engagements which every government exacts from such persons as live under it; and consequently, the most base and pernicious instance of treachery and perfidiousness. The guilt of rebellion increases in proportion as these engagements are solemn and obligatory. Thus if a man makes his way to rebellion through perjury, he gives additional horror to that crime which is in itself of the blackest nature.

“ We may likewise consider rebellion as a greater complication of wickedness than any other crime we can commit. It is big with rapine, sacrilege, and murder. It is dreadful in its mildest effects, as it impoverishes the public; ruins particular families; begets and perpetuates hatreds among fellow-subjects, friends, and relations; makes a country the seat of war and desolation, and exposes it to the attempts of its foreign enemies. In short, as it is impossible for it to take effect, or to make the smallest progress, but through a continued course of violence and bloodshed, a robber or a murderer looks like an innocent man, when we compare him with a rebel.”

What a contrast is there between these sentiments, and those of Machiavel, quoted in my last! In the former, we are warned of the guilt and ruinous effects of rebellion and usurpation, and dissuaded from the perpetration of such crimes: In the latter, men are stimulated to usurpation, and the methods are taught by which their crimes may be crowned with success. Addison, like one of those pure intelligences that are delegated by infinite wisdom to superintend the government of
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the universe, would diffuse benevolence, peace, harmony, and happiness among mankind: Machiavel, like a dark fiend, that delighted in human misery, would subvert all order, lead men to the commission of the greatest enormities, and spread devastation and ruin throughout the earth.

It were needless for me to say which of *these* it is that your Congress have listened to—*whose* precepts they have practised. The usurpation and rebellion which now disgrace America, with all their concomitant train of evils—tyranny, bloodshed, desolation, &c. will not suffer us to doubt that Machiavel's lessons have been reduced to practice on this Continent.

PAPINIAN.

L E T T E R IV.

To JOHN JAY, Esq.

S I R,

HAVING briefly pointed out in my last, the causes which produced this unnatural rebellion, and the effects of it, particularly the losses which America hath sustained, I now wait on you to examine the present state and prospects of the Congress.

You have invaded the rights, and trampled on the authority of your Sovereign.—You have sported with the lives, property, and happiness of your fellow-subjects.—You have diffused wretchedness and misery through this once flourishing country—and have employed every artifice of deceit, duplicity and violence, to attain your present usurped power. What this situation, for which you have sacrificed so much, now promises—what the probable issue of those enormities will be, are questions in which you and every British subject must be deeply interested.

Your Congress have kindly stepped forth to assist me in this inquiry. Your Address *to the Inhabitants of the United States*, dated the 26th of last May, gives a gloomy picture of your affairs, and contains representations which would be deemed by your partizans as the result of malignity, had they been made by me. I hope they will pay the more attention to what I shall now say, as it has the suffrage of the Congress to support it.

It is not my intention to examine minutely the whole of this Address. I shall pass over your usual cant—your prostitution of scripture—your sophistry,

try, and artful application to the passions of the people, by which you would cajole and reconcile them to their destruction. I shall content myself with offering a few strictures on such parts as tend to elucidate the subject before us.

The first thing that strikes me, is, the remarkable difference, as to your hopes of success, between this Address, and your *Observations on the American Revolution* *, published last winter. *The Observations*

* This pamphlet is perhaps one of the most extraordinary that has appeared during the present contest. It was drawn up by a Committee of the Congress, and published by their authority. The greatest part of it consists of extracts from former addresses and other publications of the Congress; but “having the fear of M. Gerard before them,” they have cautiously avoided that passage in their Address to the people of Great Britain, dated September 5, 1774, where the Congress tell their loving Friends and Fellow Subjects, “nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country (Canada) a religion (meaning Popery) which has deluged your Island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world.”

The apparent design of the Congress in the “Observations,” was to counteract the tendency of the papers which had passed between the British Commissioners and the Congress, and were published by the former previous to their departure hence, and reconcile the Americans to the criminal conduct of the Congress, in rejecting the liberal overtures of Government for an accommodation. A judgment may be formed of this pamphlet from the following particulars.——

It asserts, that the first British “Adventurers to America” were in a state of Nature, alike free either to submit to a society existing, or to establish one, as their inclination or interest might prompt—that they framed independent constitutions,—that stimulated by their necessities, and seduced by ancient habits, they were prevailed on to subject themselves to the King of England, in consequence of his solemn promise to afford them protection;—that the British Colonies were in fact so many independent states, whose only political connection with each other, and with the several parts of the British empire, was by means of a common Sovereign.”

Page 2, 3.

tions assure us,—“ That the efforts of Great Britain
 “ to reduce those United States, are now almost
 “ brought to a conclusion.” The Address tells
 us, that those efforts are multiplied,—it evidently
 speaks the language of despondency, and suggests
 the idea of a *last speech*. You bid us, indeed—
 “ not think you despair of the Commonwealth ;”
 but you manifestly betray despair—just as the tre-
 mor and agitation of a culprit betrays his guilt,

Had the Congress declared, that “ they were the children
 “ of the Sun, and sent by their beneficent parent to instruct and
 “ reclaim the Colonists,” as MANCO CAPAC and MAMA
 OCOLLO declared to the Peruvians, it would not be a jot
 more fabulous, or contrary to truth, than these assertions. It is
 astonishing how any men could have the effrontery to obtrude
 such palpable falsehoods on the world, when there are so many
 histories of these Colonies which refute them. The British
 Colonies were settled under charters; those charters were granted
 by the King, and specified the civil constitutions of the Colonies
 respectively—the emigrants were as much subjects of the Bri-
 tish Crown, as dependent on the supreme legislature of the
 empire, ‘ after,’ as ‘ before,’ their emigration; and some of
 those charters explicitly recognize the right of the British Par-
 liament to tax the Colonies.—But to proceed with the pam-
 phlet—

It insinuates, and would persuade the world, that the extract
 of his Majesty’s instructions to Sir HENRY CLINTON, autho-
 rizing Sir HENRY to ratify the Convention of Saratoga, and
 which Sir HENRY transmitted to the Congress, was a FOR-
 GERY, “ that it had a fraudulent complexion—that it is very
 “ possible no such letter, as the Secretary’s of State containing
 “ those instructions, was ever written, that we cannot argue
 “ against such deceit from the baseness of it; for those who
 “ would do the many treacherous acts they had committed
 “ during the war—could hardly boggle at the sending as an
 “ extract from a Secretary of State’s letter what really was not
 “ such an extract.” Page 110.

And it threatens an invasion of Britain—“ the dreaded
 “ scalping-knife itself may, in the hands of our riflemen,
 “ spread horror through their Island.” Page 120. These are
 matters to which I shall return no answer, and indeed they re-
 quire none. I am told that Mr. W. H. Drayton of South Ca-
 rolina, was one of the Committee appointed by the Congress to
 draw up this pamphlet, and its principal Fabricator.

though

though he loudly declares his innocencr. From your own representation of matters, it is impossible for any unprejudiced person to think otherwise than that your cause is desperate. The truth is, your circumstances are greatly changed, and your language is changed with them.

After mentioning “the great and increasing depreciation of your currency, and the mischiefs that have flowed from it,” you enumerate several causes to which that depreciation, you think, was owing—such as “frequent emissions, and the prodigious sumsemitted, the artifices of men who enrich themselves by monopolizing the necessities of life, the misconduct of inferior officers in the public service, and farmers raising the price of their produce.” But you have thought proper to conceal other causes which have contributed more than any of these to the depreciation of your currency—these are the fluctuating state of your affairs, of your usurped power, and the despotism of your government.

Paper currency is the sign or representation of money, as money is, by general consent, the sign or representation of all merchandize, of all commodities whatever. Money, *i. e.* gold and silver, and articles of merchandize, mutually represent each other. Hence, money has an intrinsic value—this value is not impaired by any accident, by the most violent shocks of war; carry it to any part of the globe, its value will be acknowledged.

The case of paper currency is totally different.—Having no *intrinsic* value, its credit and *nominal* value wholly depend on the security by which it is supported. Take away that security, and like an edifice whose foundation is removed, it instantly sinks. If a man can have money at all times for his

his paper currency or bills, so far the currency is good, and answers the purpose of money. If moderately emitted, the credit of currency may also be provided for by taxes in times of peace and security; for in such cases the whole community is engaged to support its credit, and can fulfil the engagement. This credit, however, at best, can only be *local*, differing essentially in this respect from money, which hath an intrinsic value, and is therefore universally received. Let me add, that it is in free and mild governments only that paper currency can maintain its credit. Tyranny produces distrust, and unhinges security; these must necessarily destroy public credit. Thus it is observed, that in despotic states, even money disappears. Men frequently bury their money, as the only way to secure it; and thus many of the wealthiest Americans, when the despotism of the Congress commenced, actually buried their money and plate, and large quantities of each lie buried, to this day, without the British lines.

The above observations are very plain and obvious, and I think incontrovertibly true. They will assist in accounting for the downfall of your currency. The first reason you assign for its depreciation, is certainly a good one. The sums you emitted were so enormously large, that all the taxable property of the revolted Colonies was insufficient to support their credit; consequently, the credit of that currency must inevitably sink.

But if it be farther considered, that those monstrous emissions had no legal support—that the authority on which they rested, was usurped and contested—that the sword of justice hung over those who emitted the currency, and their power was utterly precarious and fluctuating—that their government was an usurped tyranny, which flung
every

every thing into confusion, and filled every breast with anxiety and distrust: when these particulars are considered, the wonder is not, that your currency should be so much depreciated; but that it should have any value whatever.—Nothing but the bayonet has supported the small degree of credit it hath hitherto retained; but that violent expedient can no longer afford it credit—it is irreparably sunk, and past your power to retrieve it.

You very unkindly throw the blame of this disaster upon others—on monopolizers, the misconduct of officers, that is, in plain English, on speculators, who have robbed the public, and on farmers who raised the price of their produce. With respect to farmers, the accusation is unjust, and a mere blunder of your own. It is mistaking the effect for the cause. The currency did not sink because the farmer raised the price of his produce; but he therefore raised his produce, because the credit of your currency had sunk. And pray what is there unjust or unreasonable in this? Why does the farmer toil and sweat, but that he may enjoy the fruits of his labour? If your currency hath sunk to a *thirtieth* part of its nominal value, is it unjust or unreasonable in the farmer to demand *thirty* times as much of that currency for any article as it formerly cost?

As to speculators and monopolizers, I have no contest with you. I believe you have just reason to complain of them. The large fortunes amassed by many of your dependents and partizans, sufficiently evince your complaints to be well-grounded. I could name a Pr—sb—t—an Parson, not many leagues from this city, who was not worth a groat when this rebellion began; but being a flaming patriot and friend of the Congress, he was put into the Commissary's department; and it is affirmed that

that he hath already realized an estate of 25,000 l. reckoning a dollar at 8 s.—This is only one instance out of very, very many that I could mention.

But I am not pleased with the Congress for attempting to shift the blame from themselves in this matter, when they are chiefly guilty, and throw it on others. You stigmatize and accuse others of speculation; but are you innocent and spotless yourselves? Mr. *Dean's* publications, and others which they gave rise to, induce the world to think you are not quite immaculate. The large estates now possessed by members of the Congress, who we *know* were bankrupts when they took their seats in that *august assembly*, heighten people's suspicions. Nay, some do not hesitate to aver, that the Congress have been tampering with French gold; for that nothing else can account for their adherence to France, contrary to every dictate of reason and duty—every principle of Protestantism and good policy, and to the manifest interest of America. Nor are these suspicions in the least diminished by a certain transaction which some of your members took special care to make public, and from which they affected to derive great merit, as if they were above corruption and bribery. Nothing is more frequent with designing men than to seize little incidents, and by their help lay in a stock of merit with the simple populace, at a cheap rate, to be employed on future occasions, and turned to their own advantage. Hereby they think to act with more security, and indulge, with less suspicion, in that very vice they seemed coy in admitting—just like some termagant females, who prosecute one man for a rape, whilst they invite and run into the lewd embraces of another.

But to leave those matters which, I presume, are among the “reproaches that are peculiar to you,”

as you tell the Americans, and advert to things which are unquestionably acknowledged. You say, by way of apology, that “emitting paper” money was an expedient which had been before “frequently and successfully practised on this continent.” Very true; but you will please to remember that those emissions were comparatively small; and they had all the security that the Legislature, of which the King is an essential part, could give to support their credit. Hence they derived stability and value, and answered the desired purpose.

Now, are these cases parallel? You know they are not—they differ in every material circumstance. Your emissions were so immoderately large, that the Colonies were unable to support their credit; they were issued in direct opposition to the King’s authority, and in the midst of tumults, when no adequate security could possibly be given; their depreciation, therefore, was unavoidable. All this you knew perfectly well, yet you daily emitted new sums—each successive emission exceeding the one that preceded. Are not you then chargeable with all the mischiefs flowing from this disaster? In a word, your currency had its birth from rebellion, its support from violence, and it must end in the ruin of thousands, who will justly lay that ruin to the account of the Congress.

But in order to cheer the spirits of your partizans, you mention an expedient by which your currency may be retrieved; and that is *Taxation*. Accordingly you demand, with very little ceremony, the sum of *forty-five millions of dollars*, from the Colonists, in addition to *fifteen millions* which were demanded before; and both sums amounting to *sixty millions of dollars*, and equal to *thirteen millions of pounds sterling*, are to be paid within the
current

current year. This is taxation with a vengeance! Such a demand by the French King, arbitrary as he is, from 16 millions of vassals, would throw France into convulsions.

But hereby the credit of your currency is to be raised! Perhaps this is one of the grossest impositions which the Congress have yet played off on their deluded vassals. Supposing this immense sum were actually levied and paid in, will the quantity of your currency be less at the year's end, than when it began? No—the expenditure of the present year will require more than those *sixty millions of dollars*; and must not the money be struck to answer that expenditure, being immediately wanted? How great your expence must be, let any one judge, when you are obliged frequently to give 500 l. to a man for serving in your army a few months.

Supposing, however, that your debts and the quantity of your currency should not be greater, Jan. 1, 1780, than they were, Jan. 1, 1779; yet remember, the taxable property of your subjects will be greatly diminished. Two of your *States*, I may say, are already gone; should the other *eleven* even remain in your hands, which is not a very clear point, yet the ravages of war will certainly thin their inhabitants and destroy much property. Here then your debts and the quantity of your currency will continue the same, whilst your ability to discharge the one and support the other, will be very much diminished. Even now, your currency, like an execrated thing, is shunned by all who can avoid it; at the close of the current year, a Congress dollar will probably have no more value than a common rag of equal dimensions.

To console your partizans still further, you tell them,—“ The conduct of one Monarch, the friend
 “ and protector of the rights of mankind, has
 “ turned the scale so much, that all the visionary
 “ schemes of your gigantic adversary,” meaning
 your Sovereign, “ have vanished.” In truth, Sir,
 considering the mischiefs you have brought on
 France, it is a pity to quarrel with you for afford-
 ing her some kind and gracious words, since you
 can give her no more. Yet it is worth observing
 how the Congress are fated to unite in themselves
 the most glaring contradictions;—Professing to be
 the patrons of liberty, candour, and republican-
 ism, they exhaust our language in fulsome adula-
 tion to the most ambitious, restless, and faithless
 Monarchy in Christendom.

Whoever is acquainted with the history of
 France, must know, that to the efforts of *Richlieu*
 she owes her loss of liberty, and the despotism of
 her Monarchs; and that the maxims of that Ma-
 chiavelian statesman are those by which the con-
 duct of her government has been regulated since
 his time. Amongst those maxims, *Montesquieu*, a
 Frenchman, tells us, the following is one—“ If
 “ there should chance to be some unlucky honest
 “ man among the people, Cardinal Richlieu, in
 “ his Political Testament, seems to hint that a
 “ Prince should take care not to employ him*.”
 How far this maxim was adhered to in the ap-
 pointment of your French *Plenipotentiary*, or in
 that of the *Admiral* who was sent to your assist-
 ance, I shall not determine—you can best judge.
 Probably, this may have also become a fashionable
 maxim with you.

* Spirit of Laws, Book III. Chap. 5.

France, by the very act in which she engaged to be your ally, announced her perfidy in such a manner as to remove all just confidence in her friendship. She would as soon break her treaty with you as with Britain, if she could gain by it; and you must be conscious, that it was not from affection to you, or to the rights of mankind, but to serve her own ambitious purposes, that she joined in your cause. By duplicity, intrigue, perfidy, and violence, France has gained more provinces in Europe than you had to bestow in America; and she gained them without a claim half so plausible as you gave her to the *Thirteen United States*. Burgundy, Alsace, the Netherlands, &c. &c. can fully testify this, as well as the poor *Corficans* within our memory, who were sold to France by their late republican masters and tyrants. The *Corficans* and French Protestants will, doubtless, join heartily in your panegyric.

What you can rationally expect from France at present, is beyond my comprehension. She is unable to protect her own trade or foreign settlements, how then can she protect or assist you? She cannot lend you money, for she has it not to lend; and even your bills on France have been protested. Her King's palaces and gardens are going to ruins for want of money to repair them. The Agents of France are soliciting loans for the support of her present armaments, in every neighbouring state that has money to spare; yet her credit is so low, that they can scarcely procure a single livre. If you think, at least, that such a diversion will be made by the French war, that this Continent will be neglected by Britain, and you permitted to establish your independency, you will find yourselves egregiously mistaken. The war with France will be principally on that element,
where

where Britain confessedly surpasses any power in the world, in strength, dexterity, and skill. She can line this coast with ships of war, and still retain a sufficient force to crush the naval power of France. Your ally, for his own preservation, must abandon you, and leave you to your fate. With all the infamy of a French faction, yet without French assistance, you must struggle against your “gigantic” adversary;” who, besides superior strength, has right and justice on his side, and the cause of Liberty and the Protestant religion to animate his exertions.

Your paper currency and the French alliance were the principal supports of your rebellion. I have therefore dwelt the longer on them. In shewing the credit of the one to be irretrievably lost, and the other to be of no advantage, but dangerous and disgraceful in the highest degree, I have so far pointed out your present state. I now proceed to other particulars, which shall be briefly discussed.

Before I enter on these, give me leave to inform you, that Britain will not give up this contest, nor abandon America. Whatever hopes of this kind you may have entertained, whatever reports to this purpose you have propagated, to buoy up the spirits of your partizans, be assured they were false and groundless. Britain is *determined* to assert her just claim, and she will contend as earnestly for her American Colonies, as she would for any county in England, were it invaded—Set this down therefore as an indubitable truth.

Your hopes of foreign loans are by this time vanished. France cannot, Holland or Spain will not, lend you money. In conjunction with France, you have endeavoured to drag Spain into the war. But the present distracted state of the Spanish government

ment is an effectual bar to it. Besides, every maxim of sound policy, every dictate of common sense, forbids Spain to countenance your rebellion—it would be teaching her own Colonists to rebel—it would be setting up a rival power in the vicinity of her Colonies, which in time might wrest them from her. Accordingly, Spain is deaf to all your inflammatory exhortations to war.

What then are your internal resources with which you are to encounter your “gigantic adversary, “prepared at all points, and of whom even mighty “warriors were greatly afraid?”—to use your own most *military* and *elegant* phraseology. Men and money are the sinews of war. The cash-account has been already examined—You must depend on a wretched currency, which is past all hope, or the possibility of being retrieved—no, not even by the sale of the western wilderness, the last anchor of your hope.

America is thinned of its inhabitants. *Seventy thousand men*, and those generally the most useful and industrious, are already swept away. In a country so extensive, and so thinly inhabited as America, this loss must be severely felt. Those that remain, are harassed with perpetual musters, and called from their necessary labour to attend the operations of war. If a few determined republicans, and such as are vested with power, and are amassing fortunes by the public ruin, be excepted; the first enthusiastic zeal for revolt and enterprize is subsided, even among your partizans. The people in general are heartily sick of the contest. The calamities they have suffered, the ruin that threatens, joined to your despotism, have brought them to their senses. They are averse to taking arms, and ardently wish for peace.

Is not this indeed the case? Why else are you reduced to such difficulties in raising an army? Scarcely any will enlist even for a few months. Those that do enlist, are tempted by exorbitant premiums; nor would these avail, were not the poor wretches seduced by artful falsehoods—such as accounts of victories never obtained—public rejoicings for those victories—great and good news from Europe, altogether fictitious—loans, fleets, and armies coming over, which never had an existence, &c. &c.—Whence is the backwardness of the militia to turn out when called on? Or whence those violent and arbitrary methods to draft the militia, and keep up the appearance of an army? Do not these things evidently shew that the people at large are averse to your measures, that their hearts are not with you? So galling has been your yoke, so insupportable your tyranny, and so detested by the Colonists, that many thousands of them would this moment *cheerfully* set fire to their own houses, and destroy them, provided this would contribute to deliver them from their present thralldom, and restore to them the blessings of peace and liberty which they formerly enjoyed. When so many of your subjects are lukewarm, so many others disaffected, and others again so highly exasperated, your usurped power must rest on a very tottering foundation. Even in your army, distrust and disaffection prevail. If half a dozen of your soldiers are seen conversing together, they are instantly dispersed by an officer. This I have been assured of repeatedly by deserters.

You frequently and loudly complained that government had employed the savages to scalp you.—You did this, when government actually restrained the savages, and would not employ them;

them ; and when you were using every method in your power to gain the savages, that you might employ them against Government. Such of the *Oneidas*, *Housatunnuk*, or *Stockbridge* Indians and others, as had been previously perverted from loyalty, joined you, and have fought your battles. You lately sent a number of commissions to Indian Chiefs, and attempts were made, by the most flagrant falsehoods, to seduce them from the King—your artifices, however, proved abortive.

For these and other reasons it is become absolutely necessary for Government to employ the Indians ; and employed they *will* be. You have imposed this disagreeable necessity on the Parent State. With very little encouragement, such a number of Indians may be brought on your frontiers, that, in conjunction with the loyalists, whom you have driven to desperation, and compelled to join the Indians, they would cut out work enough for all the forces you can muster. Doubtless every precaution and method will be taken to prevent the cruelties which attend an Indian war ; but it is to be feared that your barbarities to the savages will in some degree defeat those precautions. You have cut off numbers of the Indians, you have destroyed their houses and settlements, because they would not take up the hatchet to support your rebellion. This will naturally stimulate them to revenge, and all the consequent horrors must be laid to your charge.

Whilst your western frontiers are thus exposed to the ravages of an incensed enemy, the whole line of sea-coast on the East is open to the British fleet and army. To the southward and northward also you will feel the power of the British arms. In every quarter you are vulnerable, and in every quarter you will be pressed ; whilst disaffection and
I distrust,

distrust, internal feuds and animosities weaken and consume your strength.

To complete the whole, this country, formerly the most plentiful perhaps in the world, and most abounding in provisions of every kind, is now threatened with famine. The old stock, which our non-exportation kept on hand, is now consumed or destroyed. The Americans must entirely depend upon their annual crops for future subsistence; these are scarcely half as large as they were formerly, and are liable to the same consumption and destruction that have already swept off much greater quantities of grain. In most places the lower classes are in want of bread; I have been assured that some have even perished for want of that and the other necessaries of life. These wants will unavoidably increase, if the war continues; and your warmest partizans in different provinces have declared it as their opinion, that a general famine is approaching.

Such is the state of your affairs which an impartial survey of them presents to us. Yet still you breathe war and defiance, and multiply your insults and cruelties, like the devoted Jews when they compelled the mild and generous Titus to inflict such severe punishment on them. In my conscience, I think there is not in the whole compass of history a case to be found so parallel to yours as that of the Jews at the period I mention. Without an object to compensate for the calamities suffered by this country, without any rational prospect of success, and without ability to protect the people whose guardianship you have assumed, you subject them to all the miseries of civil war; and drag them, contrary to their inclination and principles, to be slaughtered like sheep, in the field of battle. This leaves you utterly inexcusable in the
fight

fight of God and man, and covers you with guilt of the deepest dye!

What then can your prospects be in such a situation? They must be gloomy and wretched indeed. Your apprehensions must be terrible when you take time to reflect. But none can form a just idea of the sensations peculiar to your situation, except such as are plunged equally deep in guilt and rebellion. Whatever terrors a consciousness of your demerits may suggest, I am clearly of opinion that you have more to dread from the resentment of your much injured countrymen, than from the resentment of Government or the sword of justice. The instances are very numerous where usurpers, who were instrumental in bringing ruin on a people by such methods as you have practised, have fallen victims to the rage of those people, and have been torn to pieces by them, however they might have been once idolized. Private rage, impatient at the tardy progress of public justice, which may be finally eluded, hath snatched them from its hand, and devoted them to instant destruction. Beware of a similar fate: human nature is the same now that it was formerly.

When matters are approaching to this crisis, it is not improbable that overtures of accommodation will be made by your Congress to the British Commander in Chief; or that they will authorize their deputies in Europe to attempt something of the kind. With how good a grace such overtures can come from you, after what has happened, I leave your own feelings to determine.

It is certainly a matter of serious consideration, both to Government, and to the good people of this country, whether a treaty of any kind should be held with the Congress—whether men, who have so much prostituted their usurped power, should ever

be admitted to have any hand in the settlement of the Colonies. Certain I am, that good policy on the part of America, as well as of Britain, utterly forbids it. That this country will have a generous constitution, as much freedom and as great privileges as any part of the British dominions, is what I firmly and religiously believe. No well-informed person can doubt it. But these benefits should immediately flow from Government to the people, through their legal, constitutional assemblies; not through the unhallowed mediation of usurpers, who have laboured to ruin the whole empire, and would be attended with the most pernicious consequences.

Before I conclude this letter, I cannot forbear paying the tribute of applause which is due to the loyalists of America—a tribute which truth and justice demand. If your invention was strained to devise cruelties for their trial, they have sustained the shock with no less firmness and intrepidity. They have exhibited instances of undeviating loyalty, of unshaken attachment to principle, to the dictates of conscience, and to the interest of their country, which would do honour to any people, in any place, or at any period. They have literally FORSAKEN ALL, that they might adhere to these. Insults and persecution, bonds and imprisonment, confiscation and death, have been their bitter portion; yet their fortitude surmounted these, and they triumphed over you in their sufferings; your compassion was withheld from them, but they commanded your esteem; and they had what you *cannot* have, the testimony of a good conscience to support them. Though privy to each other's sentiments, and under the strongest inducements of self-preservation, emoluments, and popular applause, to be treacherous; yet there is no instance where

where they violated the mutual confidence, or betrayed the trust which they reposed in each other: On the contrary, they have, at the risque of their lives, always readily afforded whatever aid and affectionate assistance was in their power, to their loyal brethren, when in distress, or under difficulties. Such conduct, which is the result of a steady adherence to the voice of duty and conscience, reflects lustre on human nature, and in some measure atones for the baseness, perfidy, and other atrocious crimes with which some of their deluded brethren disgrace America at this day.

PAPINIAN.

L E T T E R V.

To the People of NORTH-AMERICA.

BRETHREN AND COUNTRYMEN,

THE conduct of the American Congress, in some of their recent and most important transactions, hath been developed in the preceding Letters, by which a judgment may be formed of their character. Their duplicity and nefarious designs have been exposed; the origin and causes of this rebellion, and its ruinous effects, have been also briefly laid before you. Moreover, the present state and prospects of the Congress have been impartially examined. Each of these hath been done with all good faith and sincerity; and with the sole view that the truth might be known, and that those concerned might profit by it.

Before I close these papers, I would willingly address you, my Countrymen, and lay before you some further particulars, which are peculiarly interesting at this time. My aim is, to give you such information as will enable you to judge of matters rightly, and think for yourselves. Happy shall I be, if my endeavours contribute to these purposes, and direct you to a proper conduct.

Republicans, smugglers, debtors, and men of desperate fortunes, were the principal promoters of this unnatural rebellion. If to these be added a very few individuals, who were stimulated by ambition to figure at the head of a new empire, and cared not what the consequences would be, provided only they obtained their ends, I am confident

fidest the list will contain the sum-total of those who were active and zealous for Independency. Whether such men were fit to take the lead, and decide wholly for you in things of such moment, where your lives, liberties, property, and happiness, were all at stake, I leave you to judge. Necessity and compulsion, it is true, drew in many to join these afterwards; others were imposed on by specious falsehoods, and thereby seduced from their allegiance and interest; but these only acted a subordinate part, and were not initiated into the grand mysteries of state.

The lenity of the British government was construed here to be the result of fear, pusillanimity, and impotence; and afforded leisure for the schemes of sedition to ripen, and for the disaffected to disseminate their poison. Hence the spirit of revolt and rebellion spread much wider, and acquired more strength. Whilst every artifice was used to vilify Government, and make it odious, plausible objects were held up by the seditious leaders, which lulled suspicion, removed danger out of sight, and promised the most flattering advantages. By these methods many well-meaning people were duped, and influenced to join them, who have since lamented their folly, and now deplore the wretched state of their country.

Men seldom, if ever, pursue what is wrong or pernicious, as such. They always have some good, some benefit, real or imagined, in view. But, unfortunately, the weakness of the human intellect is such, that it is often imposed on, and mistakes that for good and beneficial which is really the reverse. Falsehood assumes the garb of truth, and they are not easily distinguished from each other. Vice puts on the semblance of virtue—ambition, that of patriotism and generous zeal
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for the good of others. In addition to all this, men's passions and prejudices mingle with their reasonings, pervert their judgment, and hurry them into many things which unbiassed reason utterly disapproves. Hence they frequently adopt principles which are not only inconsistent with, but subversive of, their happiness; and yet they act on those principles with earnestness and unremitting ardour. This perhaps is one of the most prolific sources of human misery, as experience evinceth; and it frequently happens in the course of affairs, that men not only impose on others, but even on themselves.

To pass by those who promoted this rebellion from selfish motives—to aggrandize themselves, and lord it over their brethren—to defraud their creditors, or patch up their broken fortunes—there were many of you, my Countrymen, I doubt not, who engaged in it with upright, sincere intentions. You *believed* that you were serving your country. Fond and flattering were the expectations of many on this occasion. Their heated imaginations presented to them high ideas of empire—American fleets traversing the ocean, and armies the continent—Ambassadors, with their pompous trains from distant Courts, suing for alliance—the wealth and commodities of the universe pouring in—taxes abolished—poverty and distress banished—all party extinguished, freedom seated on her peerless throne, and “her temple thrown wide, as an asylum to mankind.”—Fine notions these, to be sure! The misfortune is, that it was impossible to realize them.

Whatever arguments or train of thought may have led you to these extravagant conclusions, or inspired you with that belief, it is high time to re-examine them. If disappointment is capable of producing

producing diffidence, if experience can teach wisdom, or sufferings bring men back to sober reflection, I am sure you ought to review your conduct, and to ask yourselves, Whether you have not been deceived and mistaken? Whether you have not viewed things through a false medium? Whether local prejudices and pride, under the appearance of true patriotism, have not warped your judgment, and plunged you into error?

True patriotism consists in a desire, and in uniform, concomitant endeavours, to promote the welfare and happiness of our country, without injury or injustice to others. Virtue and rectitude are its inseparable attendants, and benevolence will influence its measures. It is not a blind attachment to a particular district, which would aggrandize *that* at the expence of all others. This is nothing but local prejudice and pride. Much even of the Roman patriotism, which has made such noise in the world, was of this latter and spurious kind.

Insatiable ambition was the distinguishing characteristic of the Romans. They gratified that ambition by raising their own city on the ruins of every other state. The whole world must bend and submit to Rome. Mankind were plundered, enslaved, and butchered, in order to exalt Rome. Will any one call this true patriotism?

That many of you were actuated by a species of patriotism nearly resembling this, is evident. Nothing else could suggest the extravagant notions before mentioned, and which, you are conscious, were entertained by the abettors of this rebellion. These notions could not be realized, even supposing it had been practicable, nor your Independency established, but by a series of the most enormous crimes; and the end in view could not possibly justify these; especially when the liber-

ties and welfare of America might be otherwise secured.

As false patriotism, *i. e.* local prejudice and pride, thus seduced some, so others were perverted by a false principle of honour. Many, who, in their hearts, disapproved of Independency, who thought it would be ruinous, and shuddered at the crimes which would attend the accomplishing it, yet were led by this principle to support the Congress. Several officers, to my certain knowledge, and some of high rank, in the beginning of the year 1776, expressed their apprehensions of Independency, and positively averred, that “ if “ the Congress declared for Independency, they “ would not only abandon them, but turn their “ swords against them.” Yet when Independency was declared that same year, these officers still adhered to the Congress! They thought it would be a *breach of honour* to desert the Congress, and the cause in which they had engaged! This was also the case of others.

There are many abuses of the word *honour*; but this is the most flagrant abuse of it that I have met with. Separate from justice, truth, and virtue, honour is a phantom, and may be prostituted to the worst purposes*. Could honour oblige those men to act against the conviction of their judgment, and violate the most sacred obligations? Was not their honour previously engaged to support the just rights of their Sovereign, and the interests of their country? Were not those rights invaded, those interests spurned, and their country endangered, according to their own sentiments, by the declaration of Independency? And was not

* See Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE'S *Moral Gallantry*, proving that the *point of honour* obliges men to be virtuous, &c.

their veracity, as well as duty, engaged to oppose Independency, which would prove ruinous to millions? Did not the *breach of honour* rather consist in the violation of these?

If it be said, “that these men were so deeply engaged on the side of the Congress, that they knew not how to disentangle themselves;” I answer, that this plea may as well be urged for a continuance in any crime or vice—in any measures, however iniquitous. To err is the lot of humanity; but when a man is convinced of his error, honour and duty require that he should retract it; nor can the plea of his being deeply involved be any excuse, or extenuation of his guilt. In the common affairs of life, this assuredly is the case; I see no difference in the instance before us.

If it should be alleged further, as it probably will, “that these men had changed their sentiments, and thought Independency would be beneficial to this country;” I am willing to join issue on this ground, and examine the truth of this plea.

Supposing then that the Independency of America could be established, this must be done by the assistance of your French alliance, as is acknowledged on all hands. Do you really imagine that the liberties of America, or the Protestant religion, would not be thereby endangered? If you think so, you must be utter strangers to the genius of Popery, to the ambitious, enterprising spirit of that insidious monarchy.

Besides the advantages allowed to France by the treaty of alliance (the whole of which has not yet been laid before the public), she must pour in such succours, and otherwise entangle the Colonies with her own interests, by bringing them in debt for military stores, merchandize, &c. and obtaining

proper security, that before your Independency, with respect to Britain, could be secured, you must be dependent on France. She must unavoidably gain an entire ascendancy over the Colonies, and they would lie at her mercy.

Even already the Congress have declared, “ that
 “ the United States may not of right, nor will,
 “ conclude either truce or peace with the common
 “ enemy, without the formal consent of their ally
 “ first obtained.” So that you and your brethren must continue butchering each other, till it suits the interest and policy of France to bid you stop. If the Colonies are so much at the devotion and beck of France now, what will the case be when they are still weaker and more exhausted than they are at present, and when they are involved deeper with France, and are much more in her power? These things carry terror with them, when the aspiring views of France are considered—her aim at universal monarchy, and her repeated encroachments on the rights of every neighbouring state for accomplishing that design. The person who is acquainted with these matters, and yet is not apprehensive for the liberties of this country, is either regardless of those liberties, or he shuts his eyes against the clearest conviction.

The French alliance looks with no less malignant an aspect on the Protestant religion, than on the liberties of America. Sad experience had taught our ancestors, that severe laws and penalties, and the vigilance of the civil magistrate, were indispensably necessary to restrain the restless spirit of Popery—and that these were scarcely sufficient to prevent Popish priests from perverting Protestants to their superstition. These laws were extended to the Colonies.

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But, under the Congress, this procedure is reversed. Instead of laws to restrain, the door is thrown wide open to receive Popery. Its priests are favoured and countenanced—they meet with every encouragement; whilst Protestant clergymen, who will not *perjure* themselves to support the Congress, are banished, imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly persecuted!

Is Popery then changed? Is it purged from error, and become less persecuting? No—it is now the very same as formerly. Its Inquisition still reeks with the blood of Protestants, and of others whom it pronounces to be heretics. Not one erroneous or superstitious article has been yet expunged from its creed—nor hath any reformation taken place in its idolatrous worship. Its priests are as zealous as ever to make proselytes, and to impose their spiritual tyranny on mankind.

With such countenance from the Americans—with such zeal to propagate the tenets of Popery—with such artful emissaries as are always employed in this work—and with French influence to support them—what progress may we not expect that intolerant superstition will make in a short time! Every Protestant who has any regard for his religion—a religion which has been sealed with the blood of martyrs—and martyrs to Popish fury—every such Protestant, I say, must be greatly and justly alarmed at this prospect.

Think not, my Countrymen, that these things are flung out merely to frighten you, or that these fears and apprehensions are groundless. The case speaks evidently for itself. Circumstances less threatening have frequently roused our ancestors against the encroachments of Popery; and to this jealousy and vigilance it was owing, humanly speaking, that they and we have hitherto been
preserved

preserved from its yoke. But I shall further submit the following indubitable facts to your consideration, and then judge whether those apprehensions are groundless.

To speak against Popery, which is the religion of France, would draw as severe persecution from many of the most zealous abettors of Congress, as to speak against the Congress itself. They will not permit a word to be said to the disadvantage of Popery. In very many districts of the continent—and in some of New England—where Popery was formerly detested, and scarcely a Papist was to be seen, numbers of Popish books are now dispersed, and read with avidity. I could name a member of the rebel council in one of the New-England colonies, who was formerly considered as a zealous Protestant Dissenter, who not long since harangued a large assembly of people on some of the disputed points between Protestants and Papists; such as the invocation of saints, purgatory, transubstantiation, &c. After palliating each of these, straining the sense to put the most favourable and least offensive construction on them, and softening them with as much art as the most subtle disciple of *Loyola* could use, he finally declared, that *he saw nothing amiss or erroneous in them*; and his audience seemed to be wonderfully pleased and edified. I could name another Protestant Dissenter, whose antipathy to Popery seemed formerly to border on enthusiasm, yet who lately declared his wish *to see a Popish priest settled in every county throughout America*.*

Large

* The mention of these facts cannot give just offence to any loyal Dissenter, and indeed none is intended. It would be as ridiculous to take umbrage at it, as for a Churchman to be offended at the mentioning of *Washington, Jay*, or any other of his

Large importations of Popish priests, beads, and other such trumpery, have been made into the Colonies since the French alliance took place. Upwards of *twenty priests* were said to be in one French ship that was chased by a British cruiser in Chesapeake Bay: the French vessel escaped, and this information was given by the prisoners in a French prize which was taken soon after. Several *thousand Popish beads* were found on board a prize lately brought into this port—the prize came from Havannah, and was bound to Philadelphia.

I have the most authentic vouchers and documents to prove these facts; and could mention

his apostate brethren who joined in the rebellion. I have no doubt but Rebel Churchmen are just as favourable to Popery as Rebel Dissenters. The reason why *Protestant Dissenters* were named in the above anecdotes, was to place the amazing change of people's sentiments in favour of Popery (a consequence of the French alliance) in a more striking point of light; for Protestant Dissenters were supposed formerly to be more averse from Popery than other Protestants. Why then should not the truth be spoken? Can it injure the virtuous? Or should it be suppressed to screen the guilty? The true distinction at present, and the only one I make, is that of *Loyalist*, a friend to the King and Constitution; and that of *Rebel*, a friend to Independency and a French faction. I ardently wish that every other political distinction may cease, or be wholly forgotten.

That a very large majority of the American *Presbyterians* have zealously concurred in promoting this rebellion, is a fact so notorious, that it cannot be denied. But this circumstance, instead of disgrace, reflects the more honour on those who were loyal, and entitles them to greater applause: for hereby their virtue and loyalty were put to the severer trial; and, in general, they have fared no better among the Rebels than loyal Churchmen. It should also be remembered, that Presbyterians in Scotland have been amongst the most loyal of the King's subjects on this occasion. Perhaps that nation has been more united in support of Government, than either England or Ireland. This is one instance, among many, of the generous, unshaken attachment to their Sovereigns, which has uniformly been manifested by that gallant people, and is become one of their national characteristics—A circumstance, in my humble opinion, greatly to their honour, which is the reason why I mention it.

many

many more of the same kind, were it necessary. But why should I dwell on such anecdotes to evince this point? The Congress and Rebel Legislature of Pennsylvania have lately given the most public and unequivocal proof of their countenance and good-will to Popery. They have set an example which they unquestionably wish others to follow. In a Philadelphia news-paper of July 7th inst. we have the following relation:

“ On Sunday last, being the anniversary of the
 “ Independence of America, his Excellency the
 “ President, and the Honourable Members of
 “ Congress, attended divine worship in the fore-
 “ noon—when a sermon, suitable to the occasion,
 “ was preached by the Reverend Mr. *White*, one
 “ of the Chaplains of Congress.

“ At noon, the President and Members of Con-
 “ gress, with the President and Chief Magistrates
 “ of this State, and a number of other Gentlemen
 “ and Ladies, went, by invitation from the Ho-
 “ nourable the Minister of France, to the Roman
 “ Catholic chapel, where the great event was ce-
 “ lebrated by a well adapted discourse pronounced
 “ by the Minister’s Chaplain, and Mass and *Te*
 “ *Deum* solemnly sung *.”

I shall leave you to make your own reflections on this most *edifying* exhibition. CHARLES I. was called a *Papist* for permitting his Queen, who was bred a Roman Catholic, to attend mass: what are we to think of the American rulers, who not only permit their wives to attend mass, but attend it themselves in person, and offer up their *devout* orisons in the language, service, and worship of Rome!

All these particulars sufficiently shew the present state of things on this head—what encouragement

* See DUNLAP’S *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 10, 1779.

Popery has met with, in consequence of the French alliance—what progress it has already and is likely to make, and that the apprehensions of its increase are well founded.

Now mark how differently it is treated within the King's lines. This will clearly appear from the following fact: In February 1778, a large French ship of force was taken near Chesapeake Bay. The Rev. Mr. *De La Motte*, a regular priest of the order of St. Augustin, was her chaplain. The prize was brought to New-York; and Mr. *De La Motte*, with the other officers, were permitted to go about, having given their parole of honour. *De La Motte* was solicited to say mass; but being apprised that a law of this province prohibited the exercise of the Popish religion within its limits, he asked the Commandant's permission for the purpose. The permission was *refused*; though *De La Motte* afterwards alleged, that, through ignorance of the English language, he mistook the Commandant, and understood the permission was granted. *De La Motte* officiated; and for this he was taken up, and put into confinement; and in confinement he remained, till exchanged and sent to Boston, where, I presume, he exercised his function without any interruption.

Some perhaps may flatter themselves that America will be able, not only to maintain its Independency and be happy, but also to guard against any designs of France that would be injurious to its liberties, or the Protestant religion.—This notion is altogether chimerical, and contrary to the clearest evidence: yet, as I am willing to try the validity of every plea that has any plausibility, I shall bestow a few words in the examination of this.

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Supposing

Supposing Britain and France were set aside; would the liberties of America be secure under the Congress? Would the Americans be a peaceable and happy people, and subject to few taxes? These are interesting questions; for these contain all that the abettors of Independency can rationally aim at; and yet no proposition can be more clear, than that you would fail of attaining these, in case America should now become independent.

By liberties, I mean such as you formerly enjoyed, and such as are the portion of British subjects.—Frenchmen have what they call liberties—and even Turks—the staunch allies of France—have what they call by the same name. But I conceive you would not be content with such liberties. You look for liberties similar, at least, to those which you once possessed.

The experience of *three* years has taught you how far these are attainable under a Congressional Government. You have been ruled with a rod of iron. Despotism has marked the footsteps of your rulers. Nor was this merely owing to the present conflict—the consequence of your struggle with the Parent State: it resulted from the genius and spirit of the Congress. The internal structure of that government, which has been huddled up in the midst of war and tumults, is such, that it is necessarily subversive of liberty, and must lead to tyranny.

Liberty cannot exist for any time, where the supreme power of a state is not divided. A right distribution of that power is the spring of liberty; in this also consists the excellency of any civil constitution. Ambition, and a thirst of power, are naturally inherent in man. These will stimulate bodies of men, as well as individuals, to encroach on the rights of others. Unless there is some
power

power to restrain those encroachments, liberty must vanish.

In Britain, the constitution has guarded against such encroachments. The supreme power is divided into three branches; each of which can check and controul the others, when necessary. If any one of them should attempt to pass its proper limits, to the injury of the others, or of the community, the other branches can interfere immediately, and frustrate its designs before they can be executed. Hence arise the permanence and stability of British liberty.

In America, the case is wholly different. The Congress have found means to unite and center in themselves the power of King, Lords, and Commons. They are absolute, paramount, and unrestrained—without check or controul. They may pass what laws or take what measures they please, and there is nothing to restrain them. They may sell you and your liberties, with the soil of America, to the highest bidder, and you have no remedy.

Have you not already experienced, in part, what is here alleged? Do you approve of all the proceedings of the Congress? And if not, what remedy can you apply? I do not ask you, whether you have *unanimously* approved; but did a *majority* approve of the Congress's declaration of Independence—of their withholding from you the proposals made by the British Commissioners soon after—of their rejecting the offers of accommodation by the British Commissioners lately, without discussion or examination—of their alliance with France, and their resolve of Jan. 14, by which this country was virtually, and as far as they could, betrayed to that insidious power—of their secreting from you their most important transactions—of

their emitting such enormous sums of paper-currency, by which you are brought to the brink of ruin—of their burdening America with such a debt, by this currency and their traffic with France, as must impoverish and depress this country for generations to come? However you may disapprove of any or all of these, yet it is past your power to redress them.

If it should be urged, “that the Members of
“the Congress are elected by the people—that
“their seats become vacant after a short term—
“and that this is a sufficient security for the liberties of America;” I answer, It is by no means a sufficient security. When the Members of the Congress are once elected, they become invested with absolute, unrestrained power. There is nothing to check their proceedings. In one session the liberties of America may be laid prostrate; and when an act or acts are passed, however pernicious, they cannot be recalled. The thing is done, and is therefore remediless, as to you. Can the vassals of Turkey be in a worse situation?

“But must not they participate in your burdens, and be equally involved in your loss of liberty, and other evils?”—Yes, verily—just as the thirty tyrants of Athens, Julius Cæsar, and Oliver Cromwell, with their respective associates, participated in the burdens of their countrymen, and were involved in the common evils. Experience shews that considerations of this sort will not prevent the abuse of power. You cannot be more zealous for a republican government, nor more averse to the yoke of despotism, than the Athenians, Romans, and English were, at the periods above mentioned: yet they were compelled respectively to submit to that yoke. The emoluments of office would more than compensate for
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the pecuniary part of the burden ; and ambition will stick at nothing to grasp its favourite object—domination.

Be not deceived, therefore, my countrymen, with the sound of names ; nor think there is any necessary connection between liberty and a Congress. You may be enslaved by a Congress as soon as by a Monarch—much sooner than by a limited Monarch.

The American Congress have ordered matters so that they are vested with absolute power—they can turn the collective strength of the community against any individual, or to any object they please : Yet, as a body, they are responsible to none, there is nothing to check them, none who can call them to an account. No man therefore, who wishes well to America, but must tremble at the apprehensions of such a power. To live under it, is to live in a state of the most abject servitude.

Independency is pregnant with many other evils. To support the civil, naval and military establishments of this new empire, would require nearly *four millions of pounds sterling*, annually, in time of peace.

This, with the debts already contracted by the Congress, and the sinking their paper currency, would subject you to heavier taxes than are paid by any people in Christendom.

The seeds of animosity and discord, of deadly feuds and bloody contests, are already sown—the spirit which will cherish these, and bring them to full maturity, even now begins to work. Scarcely can the terror of the British arms, joined to the authority of the Congress, restrain some provinces from hostility and war about their mutual claims to certain districts—and some of those districts desolated by the Savages. Instigated by the same
ambition

ambition which led them to throw off their connection with the Parent State, a few provinces lay claim to the whole of the western unsettled lands, to the exclusion of the rest. It is manifest that the possession of so immense a territory, would, in time, enable those provinces to subjugate the others, and swallow them up. Religious prejudices would certainly operate, and struggles for superiority would ensue; for whatever may be the opinion of some to the contrary, it is absolutely certain, that on the part of many, the present is a *Religious War*.

All these clashing interests, prejudices and principles, which are at this hour fermenting, would burst out with destructive violence the moment that the claims and superintendence of Britain are entirely removed. Perhaps you are not apprehensive that those evils would follow; neither were you apprehensive of the *present* evils when the contest began. But these consequences would infallibly attend your independency at this time. All those circumstances by which this country flourished, would be changed; its state and condition must necessarily be changed also. What were the circumstances that promoted our growth and opulence?—The protection of Britain, the mildness of our government, an exemption from taxes, the influx of Europeans, and a spirit of peaceful industry. Each of these, in case of independency, would indubitably be reversed; must not the benefits arising from them be also reversed? America would be a scene of bloody discord and desolation for ages—the most miserable distracted country on earth. In this wretched state it would continue, till a few provinces, or one sect, had subjugated the rest; as this would probably end in the despotism of

of *one* person. Such has been the uniform course of human affairs on similar occasions.

Let me add, that it is impossible for so extensive a country as America to remain under a republican form of government—the form now adopted. The experience of mankind, as far as we have any records, clearly evinceth this; as well as the condition of human nature. We can no more change the laws of nature in this respect, than in any other—no more than we can change the laws of gravity, or those which guide the seasons, or regulate the universe. The republican form may do well enough for a single city, or such a little spot as Holland, Venice, or the Swiss Cantons, but is utterly unsuitable to such a wide extended continent as this; nor does history afford one instance of the kind. No sooner had the spirit of conquest enlarged the Roman empire beyond the limits which were adapted to their republican government—and those limits not a *fifth* part as large as North America—than the despotism of one person was the consequence.

Such is the prospect, my countrymen, which Independency presents to you. I trust you will give these matters a serious, dispassionate examination, and weigh them with that attention which their importance demands. All that is dear or valuable to man on earth is now at stake with you—all that can make life desirable is suspended on the decision of this contest.

Nothing but the power and interposition of Britain stands between you and the evils which I have now mentioned. Were she to break off her connection, those evils would rush in upon you like a torrent; nor could she take a severer revenge for the injuries and insults she hath received, than leaving you to yourselves. Of all this, I know many
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of you are fully sensible ; yet delusion still holds you in her fascinating chains.

I have hitherto reasoned with you on the above suppositions, purely to meet your prejudices, examine the validity of your several pleas, and the grounds of your expectations respecting Independency. But I must now tell you plainly, that Independency is UNATTAINABLE. Britain is *determined* to assert her just claim to her American colonies, and she is able to carry her determination and claim into execution. Happy is it for you that she hath ability and will to do so ; this alone can rescue America from the foreign and domestic evils we have been considering.

France cannot protect her own trade, or settlements ; how then can she protect or assist you ? Or, were she able, would she bestow that freedom and liberty on you, which she cruelly denies to her own children ? Do you expect that Spain will assist to establish your Independency ? Were she even to do so, contrary to every principle of national interest and good policy (of which however there is not the least probability), be assured there are other European powers ready to interfere, and assist Britain ; and these would more than balance the weight of Spain. Do you flatter yourselves that because the war has been so much prolonged, you have a chance yet to succeed ? Reflect, I beseech you, that Britain is slow in her operations at the beginning of every war, and often unsuccessful. The freedom of her constitution subjects her to this inconvenience, and occasions embarrassments that are unknown to arbitrary governments. You remember the last war. You may recollect what losses she sustained ; how gloomy the prospect of America was ; that it was threatened with the yoke of France, for *four years* after the war began ;

gan : Yet Britain finally triumphed over France and Spain, not only here, but in every quarter of the globe. That freedom, from which embarrassments arise at first, enables her, when thoroughly roused, to exert a vigour which the dastard sons of servitude can neither attain nor withstand.

Consider the numbers of your brethren that have been already swept off—the desolation and misery that overspread this country. Do you think the sword hath not yet devoured enough? Or should the ravages of war be invited to hold on their dreadful career, and consume whatever yet remains? That the Congress mean to continue those ravages, is evident. Sooner than part with their honours, emoluments and power, the sweets of which they have now tasted, they will sacrifice the life of every individual who will be stupid enough to support or adhere to them.

What can attach you to men who have shewn such a disregard to your welfare—such insensibility to your miseries? who, contrary to all rational hope of success, perpetuate your calamities; and although utterly unable to protect you, yet drive you out to be slaughtered? and who by their duplicity and cruelty have disgraced America!

So void of humanity are the Congress towards you, that although they compel you to be enrolled as militia, and this subjects you to all the penalties of rebellion; yet they will not redeem you from captivity, nor exchange you, unless you happen to be taken on actual service; and great numbers, as you very well know, are taken who are not thus on service. They oblige you to take arms against your rightful Sovereign; yet you must expect no relief from them when suffering

for that crime, although they can easily afford relief. If taken, you may languish and rot in prison, or die, and your families suffer; but they neither care for you, nor yours.

Even their Continental troops fare no better.— Many hundreds of them, officers and men, are now confined in this place, some of whom were made prisoners as early as 1776; besides multitudes that have died. Whatever falsehoods you may have heard concerning those prisoners, be assured they have had to the full the usual allowance of provisions for prisoners, and have been as well used otherwise as the state of things would admit. They were confined in large buildings, or on board of ships; nor could they be otherwise accommodated unless they had been sent off the continent. The Officers were permitted to go at large on their parole, although upwards of an *hundred* of them have shamefully violated that parole and ran off.

Why have those unhappy men been thus brutally abandoned? Not content with neglecting their zealous partizans, the Congress have added insult and mockery to cruelty. They have several times appointed Commissioners to meet others from the British Commander in Chief, to treat of an exchange of prisoners. Yet in truth they meant to do nothing but trifle with us, to amuse and deceive you and the rebel prisoners. A desire of exchange was pretended; yet the exchange was evaded, not only by a breach of public faith, by proposals utterly inadmissible, but by a series of chicane and duplicity which would be held in detestation by men of any honour or principle. They undervalued you on those occasions; alleging, that *one of their men was not worth a British or Ger-*

man soldier—that it would be prejudicial to them to part with the remains of Burgoyne's army on equal terms; as if Britain could not easily replace two or three thousand men; and the prisoners of that army in their hands do not exceed that number! In their late Address, the Congress have more than insinuated that the American merchants, farmers, and the inferior officers employed in their service, are a set of mercenary wretches, who care nothing for the public if they can only enrich themselves: In their procedure respecting prisoners, they have declared by words and actions, that you are not worth exchanging, and are beneath their regard or notice.

The true and secret spring of this conduct is as dishonourable to Congress, as it is injurious and provoking to you. The real fact stands thus:—While the Congress have those prisoners, they are sure that a great number of English guineas must be sent for their support—they are no less sure that many or most of these will infallibly find their way to themselves; and however they may execrate his Majesty's person, they like very well to view his *picture in gold*. Hereby they can make provision for themselves against an evil day in some foreign country, which their own currency will not do. Besides, by detaining those prisoners, the Congress imagine they have pledges of security for their own *precious* persons in case of a disastrous issue in their affairs, or that any of themselves should be made prisoners.—These are the *laudable* motives which induce the Congress to neglect their friends, leave them to struggle with all the hardships of confinement, and their families to starve.

For my part, I should not be surprised if all the rebel prisoners, those we now have, or such as may

hereafter be taken, were sent to some distant country. Here, they put Government to a great expence, without any advantage whatever, as the Congress will not exchange them. The poor wretches are a burden to themselves, and useless to mankind. By sending them off, they might be disposed of so as to be serviceable to themselves and others. Good policy, in my opinion, dictates such a measure; and I am sure humanity must approve of it.

But why should I enlarge further? The time would fail me to recount the several enormities of those men, who seem to be intended only as a scourge for this devoted country. Consult your own feelings, your memory and experience: What have you known but violence, oppression and misery since the reign of the Congress commenced? What have you in prospect, if you adhere to them, but destruction and ruin? Why then adhere longer to men, whom duty, honour, patriotism, and self-preservation call loudly on you to abandon? whose tyrannical system you should exert yourselves to overthrow?

Turn your eyes, my Countrymen, to Britain, your Parent State—the state from which you originated—which protected and fostered you with tender care, and raised you to your late flourishing and envied condition. She holds out to you the blessings of peace, freedom and security—an exemption from the evils which now threaten you.

Were the Americans left to their unrestrained choice, Britain is the country, and the *only* one, with which they should desire an union. Her constitution insures real, substantial liberty to every subject—all are under the protection of equal laws—none are exposed to the caprice of arbitrary will—

will—the property and person, the civil and religious liberties of every man are perfectly secure. Britain is the only state whose maritime power can effectually protect America from foreign insult or invasion—she is the only state whose immense trade can employ and give vent to the various commodities of this western hemisphere to advantage—and she is the only state who can fully and on advantageous terms, supply America with the several manufactures of linen, woollen, metals, &c. that she requires. No other state can furnish these of equal quality, in the same quantity, and at the same price. Let me add, that the ties of blood, religion, language, laws and manners, strongly impel each to a coalition, which cannot be said of any other state, with respect to America, but Britain. Providence, nature and reason, therefore point out and demand this union—and that union, I firmly believe and trust in God, *will* take place.

Yes—I see the auspicious æra near approaching, when Britain and America will be united—when a generous constitution, guarding against former inconveniences, will be established, and from which Congressional and Gallic despotism will be banished—when both countries, supporting and supported by each other, will rise to eminence, prosperity and strength, unknown to past ages, bid defiance to foreign and domestic enemies, and become the admiration and envy of mankind.

This is no flight of fancy, unsupported by reason. It is not like the dreams of Independency, which must vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision. Each of these particulars is founded in truth, in the actual state of things at present; nor have I a doubt but each will be realized. Neither France nor the Congress can wrest those blessings from

from us, nor reverse the course of nature. Whilst this prospect should animate the friends of government, liberty and peace; it should also engage *all* to unite and exert themselves in arresting the ravages of war, and checking the progress of desolation. The sooner this is done, the better. Your part therefore is, to contribute what you can to shake off speedily the yoke of republican tyranny, and re-unite yourselves to the Parent State, from which republican ambition, phrenzy and delusion have severed you.

PAPINIAN.

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